



# THE LEHIGH REVIEW

## AN ACADEMIC JOURNAL OF THE ARTS & SCIENCES



# *the* LEHIGH REVIEW

VOLUME 14

2005-2006



## THE LEHIGH REVIEW

Founded in 1992

Volume Fourteen, 2006

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The Lehigh Review is indexed at [www.lehighreview.org](http://www.lehighreview.org) and cataloged in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC 20545.

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The Lehigh Review (ISSN # 1930-7160) is published annually (each Spring) by Lehigh University at 39 University Drive, Bethlehem, PA 18015. Please give sufficient notice of change of address. Periodical postage paid at Bethlehem, PA, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Please send address changes to The Lehigh Review, Lehigh University, Humanities Center, 224 West Packer Avenue, Bethlehem, PA 18015.

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Volume  
Fourteen

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## EDITORS' NOTE

Volume Fourteen of *The Lehigh Review* reinvents the past and examines the progress of the present. With democracy threatened, industry sold, humanity forgotten, and a clash of civilizations imminent, one must question if our progress is merely melting old steel into a new *steal*.

From the Empire State Building to the Golden Gate Bridge, Bethlehem Steel was vital to the creation of the future in the past. As the Mills are transformed from smoke stacks to slot machines, we recognize that such a transformation is a microcosm of a culture that all too often gambles the principles of the past for the wanton winnings of the present.

We seek the presence of the past. This is not to say that we are restricted to that past. Rather, we recognize that there can be no real progress in a country where the founding spirit has been squandered. We call for a return of that spirit.

The images in this volume exemplify such a return: they illustrate the ideas of the present on the steel—the spirit—that built the past. Volume Fourteen, through many of its articles, confronts the larger questions of progress, taking them beyond the steel and into the sciences and humanities. So read on. Open your mind. Let progress in.

Ellen Lempereur & Raymond Lahoud

# The Lehigh Review

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## HER VOICE WILL BE ON THE SIDE OF RIGHT

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF ANTISLAVERY ACTIVISM IN WOMEN'S FICTION

HOLLY M. KENT

During the 1840s and 1850s abolitionism became increasingly visible and accepted in American society. Although it remained a controversial and widely unpopular movement in the decades before the Civil War, abolitionist ideas reached an increasingly broad (and somewhat more receptive) public. Many Americans' awareness of enslaved peoples' plight was raised through reading antislavery fiction written by female abolitionists. One such abolitionist was the popular writer Harriet Beecher Stowe. In the spring of 1852, Stowe published the final chapter of her overwhelmingly successful novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in the antislavery newspaper the *National Era*. Having already drawn her narrative to its close, Stowe used this final installment to instruct her readers as to how they could undermine the horrific institution of slavery that her novel had brought to life. Stowe asserted that concerned Americans were able to weaken the slave system by acknowledging and testifying to its evil, sympathizing with its victims, and praying for its abolition (Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 630-2). Eight years later, in the spring of 1860, author Mattie Griffith also concluded her novel *Madge Vertner* by instructing the American public on how they could bring forth the abolition of slavery. Yet the nature of these instructions could not have been more different. Instead of asking them to contemplate the evils of slavery within the privacy of their own homes and thoughts, Griffith urged her readers to vote for the antislavery candidate in the upcoming 1860 presidential election (Griffith, *Madge Vertner*, 5 May 1860).

The conclusions of these two novels exemplify how female abolitionists' conceptions of activism changed dramatically over the course of the 1850s. Authors writing in the early 1850s insisted that women's moral influence was vital to the success of the abolitionist cause, while authors writing between 1856 and 1860 maintained that women contributed little to the movement through moral suasion, arguing that only male involvement in electoral politics could

bring truly meaningful gains to abolitionism. Faced with moral suasion's failure to convert the American public to abolitionism and bring about the end of slavery, many late-antebellum abolitionists lost faith in that strategy's usefulness, embracing antislavery politics as a more effective means of achieving their goals. Despite this widespread disillusionment with moral influence, female abolitionist authors writing in the late 1850s continued to insist that women possessed distinctly gendered virtues which were vital to the success of their movement. These authors consistently presented their disenfranchised female characters as more virtuous, unwaveringly principled, and steadfastly abolitionist than their politically empowered (but morally questionable) male counterparts. By simultaneously emphasizing women's unswerving devotion to abolitionism and their disenfranchisement, female abolitionist authors writing in the late 1850s suggested that if the American nation were to be saved and the peculiar institution brought to an end, women, as well as men, needed to be politically empowered to fight for their cause.

Several stories written in the early 1850s featured heroines who successfully converted proslavery men to the abolitionist cause through their salutary moral presence. The heroines of Sophia Little's 1852 novel, *Thrice Through the Furnace*, and Phebe Ann Coffin Hanaford's 1853 novel, *Lucretia, a Quakeress*, successfully brought the morally misguided men they loved into the abolitionist fold. Once the dissolute protagonist of *Thrice Through the Furnace*, Arthur St. Vallery, fell under the influence of the upright Quaker Aimee Freeman, he ceased to be a proslavery libertine and promptly became a virtuous proponent of the abolitionist cause. By uttering one simple prayer, Aimee induced Arthur to promise God to "free all my slaves, oh! that I could free every slave under the canopy of thy Heaven" (Little 159, 186). At the end of the novel, Arthur, an ardent abolitionist married to Aimee, gave thanks that he had been saved from his own immorality, claiming "an angel has appeared before [him] in [his] downward path, warned [him], awakened [him]" (Little 167).

Like Aimee, Lucretia Barnard, the abolitionist heroine from Hanaford's novel, converted a proslavery man to the antislavery cause. Initially resistant to abolitionism, the hero, Morton, was converted after hearing Lucretia deliver an antislavery sermon at a Quaker meeting. Listening to Lucretia's eloquent words with "breathless attention," Morton felt compelled to "release the fellow immortals who were styled his slaves" (Hanaford 115, 113-4). Morton "called his slaves together...and secured to each and all their freedom" (Hanaford 144). When a friend commented on Morton's transformation from cynical slave-owner to idealistic abolitionist, he asserted that "the change is owing...to her who was once Lucretia Barnard, and would not become Lucretia Fitzroy while I held a single fellow-being in bonds" (Hanaford 164). Through her refusal to marry him until he liberated his slaves, Lucretia successfully brought the once dissolute Morton into the abolitionist cause.

Some female abolitionist authors during the antebellum era expressed nothing but contempt for electoral politics. Yet others maintained the political realm did have the potential to advance abolitionist interests, provided that male politicians allowed their actions to be guided by virtuous women. The hero of *Mark Sutherland* became a brilliant antislavery politician because his virtuous wife inspired him to devote himself to "the service of God, the good of man" (Southworth 383).

In *Lucretia, A Quakeress*, once converted by the virtuous Lucretia, the former slave-owner Morton's "voice was often heard advocating the pure principles of anti-slavery" (Hanaford 154). Lucretia, by contrast, remained uninterested in public activism, "regard[ing] home as woman's most appropriate sphere of action and influence" (Hanaford 135). The domestically-minded Lucretia indicated that women need not covet political power as they could easily contribute to abolitionism from within the home. Discussing slavery with Lucretia, Hannah, a friend, asserted that "if women had as much voice in the counsels of the nation as she has in the Friends' Meetings, [slavery] would long ago have ceased to exist" (Hanaford 168). Lucretia replied calmly "I believe thee ... but since it is not woman's place, at present, to vote on moral questions, she should...labor to influence rightly those who can vote" (Hanaford 168). Although her assertion that women were not politically empowered "at present" raised the possibility of women's future enfranchisement, Lucretia argued that the vote was irrelevant, so long as women could influence the men around them to vote correctly. Even though Hanaford and Southworth located women's virtue in their distance from politics, they nonetheless indicated that the women had access to the political world through the powerful influence they exerted within the domestic sphere.

The optimism found in the fiction of the early 1850s was not fated to last, as the mid and late 1850s witnessed a series of crushing setbacks to the abolitionist movement. In 1854 Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which permitted slavery to expand into America's new territories. Between 1855 and 1858, pro and antislavery forces fought a bitter guerilla war in Kansas over whether the territory ought to be admitted to the Union as a free or a slave state. In addition to the success of proslavery forces in Kansas, abolitionists faced a devastating setback in the 1857 Supreme Court decision in the *Dred Scott* case. *Dred Scott* declared that the enslaved had no rights under American law. As proslavery interests won numerous victories in the late 1850s, abolitionists felt increasingly hopeless that the end of slavery would be brought about through moral suasion.

This increasing disillusionment with moral activism led abolition leaders to place greater importance on politics. Although the Republican Party was not the first political antislavery party, it was the first with any genuine chance of playing a prominent role in national politics. Although previous antislavery parties had garnered significant support in abolitionist circles, they had ultimately failed to become anything more than marginal third parties in national

political contests. By contrast, after its creation in 1854, the Republican Party became a significant force in American politics. The rise of the Republican Party meant that by the mid 1850s, political activism had become a viable means of advancing abolitionist interests.

In a striking and abrupt shift, female abolitionists writing between 1856 and 1860 argued that moral activism was no longer a viable means of advancing abolitionism, and that white men's involvement in electoral politics was essential to bringing about the end of slavery. Unlike earlier works, pieces written between 1856 and 1860 indicated that women no longer had the ability to direct the actions of politically empowered men. Whereas the heroines of fiction written in the early 1850s made significant contributions to abolitionism through positive moral example, female protagonists in later novels failed to influence men to adopt abolitionist principles. Despite their pessimism about moral suasion, these authors nonetheless continued to insist that women were more staunchly abolitionist in their principles than men. By insistently reaffirming their faith in women's unique moral vision and systematically denying them the ability to spread their ideals through moral suasion, these authors indicated that women needed to be politically empowered to make their invaluable, distinctively feminine contributions to society.

Much like the female protagonists of earlier works, the heroines of novels written in the mid and late 1850s tried to convert immoral proslavery males to abolitionism. Nina Gordon, the idealistic heroine of Stowe's 1856 novel *Dred*, made many ineffective attempts to prevent her brother Tom from raping an enslaved woman on their estate (Stowe, *Dred* 76-7, 144-5, 168-87). Emma DeWolfe, the beleaguered heroine of Harriet Hamline Bigelow's 1857 novel *The Curse Entailed*, watched powerlessly while her dissolute husband repeatedly raped her enslaved maid Jeanette (Bigelow 116). The female protagonist of Mary A. Denison's 1858 novel *Old Hepsy*, the saintly Mabel Van Broek, failed to prevent her slave owning brother, Everard, from selling a virtuous enslaved woman to an unsavory libertine (Denison 268).

While earlier works argued that the most potent force in antebellum society was female moral suasion, later novels indicated that all genuine power belonged to men. The male villains of *Dred*, *The Curse Entailed*, and *Old Hepsy* possessed all of the political, economic, and sexual power which the women of these novels so conspicuously lacked. Wealthy slave owners answered to no one. They could sexually abuse enslaved women and ignore the protests of their wives and sisters. In the world of these novels, it was not virtuous, abolitionist women, but rather powerful, corrupt men who determined the fate of the enslaved.

In fiction written between 1856 and 1860, women's attempts to shape the moral principles of men proved to be entirely ineffectual. The heroine of *Western Border Life*, Fanny Hunter, began her life in the Kansas territory

determined to make her proslavery employers, the Catletts, question the moral rightness of their proslavery stance. Despite her numerous efforts to convert Mr. Catlett, he remained convinced that slavery is just. To him, "a whippin's nothin' to [slaves], they are made to be whipped" (Corning 315). Fanny's inability to inspire abolitionist sympathies in Mr. Catlett represented her failure to turn her antislavery principles into action since male slaveholders would determine the future of slavery in the region (Corning 315). The fate of the territories, then, lay in the outcome of the elections in which voters would determine whether Kansas and Missouri would be admitted to the Union as free or slave states. Consequently, proslavery politically empowered men like Mr. Catlett, and not abolitionist, disenfranchised, morally perceptive women like Fanny, had the power to determine the future of slavery in the West.

Although she failed in her efforts to transform Mr. Catlett into an abolitionist, Fanny Hunter was fortunate in that she escaped from *Western Border Life* alive; other heroines who attempted to use moral influence in the service of abolitionism in the fiction of this era were not so lucky. By the middle of Stowe's *Dred*, Nina Gordon lay on her deathbed, pleading with her fiancé to write to tell her wicked brother Tom "to be kind to [the slaves]" (Stowe, *Dred* 136). Unmoved by his sister's dying wishes, Tom "had no sooner read [Nina's fiancé's] note, then he cast it into the fire" (Stowe, *Dred* 246). The heroine of *Madge Verner* also failed in her attempt to use moral suasion to advance abolitionism. At the end of the novel, Madge lay on her deathbed pleading with her proslavery father to "soften my death-pillow by the pledge that you will liberate our slaves" (Griffith, *Madge Verner*, 5 May 1860). His conscience was touched by this appeal, and he swore he would do as his daughter wished. Madge died happy, convinced that she had secured the freedom of her family's slaves. Yet after his daughter's death Colonel Verner quickly reneged on his promise, and although "[s]ometimes...he thought of his promise to his daughter of liberating his slaves...opposed to that promise were self-interest, love of worldly possessions...so he contrived to put off the promise" (Griffith, *Madge Verner*, 5 May 1860).

Throughout their works published between 1856 and 1860, female abolitionists insisted that if white men elected a government sympathetic to abolitionism the institution of slavery would certainly be weakened, if not eliminated. In *Western Border Life*, the Judge declared confidently that "[i]f in the next presidential canvass, the people of the North show an undivided front, and a determination to drive slavery from the White House, the work is done" (Corning 266). Lydia Maria Child ended her 1856 story "The Kansas Emigrants" with her heroine's deathbed vision of an abolitionist Kansas which featured a beautiful mountain called "Free Mont" (Child 363). By including this pointed reference to the 1856 Republican candidate for President, John Frémont, Child indicated that white male readers could greatly aid the abolitionist cause by voting an antislavery politician into the White House. Griffith concluded *Madge Verner* by insisting on the important role white men's votes for

Republican candidates would play in undermining the peculiar institution. After summarizing the villainous conduct of Colonel Vertner and another of the novel's wicked slave owners, Griffith declared, "[l]et all such as condemn these two men remember to do their part to lessen such unjust power by fighting a good fight and casting a true vote in 1860" (Griffith, *Madge Vertner*, 5 May 1860). For antislavery authors, the saviors of the enslaved were no longer women whose moral influence would convert the world to abolitionism, but men who had the power, would they but use it, to vote the peculiar institution out of existence.

Yet these stories beg the question of how well men used the power their enfranchisement had granted them. Throughout these works, upright women were forced to stand by and watch depraved men abuse the power given to them by society. In *Dred*, Nina Gordon could do nothing more than make a few impotent protests against her brother's barbarous treatment of their slaves and then sink into an early grave. The female characters in *The Curse Entailed* and *Old Hepsy* were forced to powerlessly watch the men of their families sexually abuse the enslaved women under their control. Robbed of the feminine power of moral influence and denied access to the masculine realm of government, the female characters in these novels were left unable to act on their abolitionist principles. Although these authors never directly appealed for the enfranchisement of women, their texts nonetheless implied that granting political power to women would do much to advance the abolitionist cause. Female abolitionist authors' decision to make their female characters as morally principled as they were legally powerless, and their male characters as morally depraved as they were politically powerful, was a significant one. By doing so, female abolitionist authors implicitly questioned the desirability of denying women access to power which, their novels indicated, they would consistently use in the service of the abolitionist cause.

Several of these authors directly called for female empowerment within antebellum society. In "The Kansas Emigrants," Child argued that if women had access to political power they would contribute a great deal to abolitionism. Through the capable character of Kate Bradford, Child indicated just how much energy and talent the movement lost because of women's limited social power. In the story, Kate successfully engaged in debates with proslavery settlers, smuggled weapons to antislavery fighters, and defended her husband and child from proslavery attackers. Child emphasized that this clever woman was unable to contribute to the abolitionist cause through political action. When Kate sent petitions to her home state of Massachusetts, asking government officials to send aid to the beleaguered antislavery emigrants, the "Legislature of her native state did not hear her appeal" (Child 358). The solution to this dilemma might, be for women like Kate to have access to political power (Child 358). As Kate and her husband John discussed their hopes that a university would soon be built in Kansas, John stated "[w]e shall have to choose you for a professor, Kate; I, for one, will give you my vote" (Child 316). In "The Kansas Emigrants,"



Child argued that women like Kate Bradford could contribute a great deal to the abolitionist cause if they had the political means to do so.

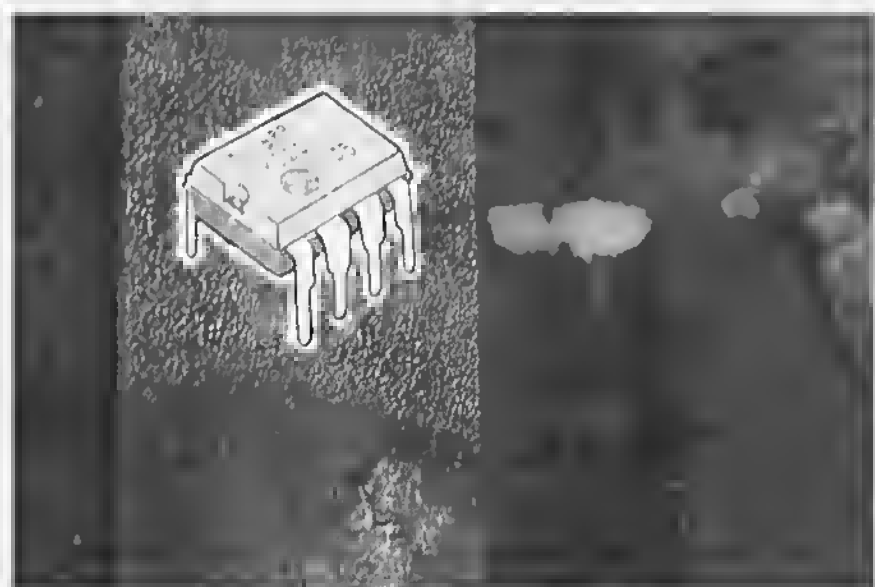
Griffith's *Madge Vermer* also argued against a political system in which abolitionist women were denied power granted to proslavery men. Of one of the novel's slave owners Griffith noted bitterly, "he is a voter — one of the Democratic sovereigns — and his existence cannot be quietly wiped out or overlooked as though he were a woman." Being "wiped out" of legal existence was, of course, precisely what happened to the novel's heroine. In her novel Griffith continually emphasized that it was the worldly Colonel Vermer, and not his saintly daughter, who possessed the political power needed to determine the future of slavery (Griffith, *Madge Vermer*, 1 October 1859). Griffith implied that if Madge had not been "wiped out" of political existence, her abolitionist ideals could have been transmitted into meaningful action. Between 1856 and 1860, female abolitionist authors indicated that if their cause was to advance, women needed to be politically empowered so that they could act on their abolitionist convictions.

While abolitionist works written during the early 1850s emphasized the effectiveness of women's moral influence, stories composed in the late 1850s argued that moral activism was ineffective, and political activism vital, to the antislavery cause. This dramatic change most likely had its roots in the failure of moral suasion to effectively check the growth of the "Slave Power," the bloody civil war in Kansas, and the rise of the Republican Party in the latter half of the 1850s. Yet while female authors' conceptions of abolitionist activism changed dramatically over the course of the 1850s, their belief that women had valuable contributions to make to the movement went unchanged. Even after their hopes of contributing to abolitionism through moral activism had faded, antislavery women continued to express their unique hopes for their movement's future—a future in which all abolitionists would be politically empowered to fight for their cause.

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# NANOTECHNOLOGY

## QUANTUM DOTS AND CARBON NANOTUBES

### JASON HAAS

#### EVOLUTION OF NANOTECHNOLOGY

Over the last decade, the electronics industry has witnessed a drastic decrease in the size of circuit component size, fueled by the need for increased complexity and performance. As the size of these components decrease, quantum mechanical effects become increasingly important. A device reaches the quantum size effect when the size of the device is comparable to electron wavelength. In this regime, classical physics fails to describe the phenomena that occur in these devices. Quantum well and quantum cascade lasers are just a few examples of the realization of quantum mechanics. The area of quantum dot physics and devices is relatively new, and has several applications in bio-engineering.

Recent developments in semiconductor quantum-dot (QD) technology nanostructures have opened up new possibilities in the area of nanotechnology. One example is a "Quantum Dot", which has extraordinary electrical, optical, and mechanical properties. Carbon nanotubes are another recent development in nanotechnology. Carbon nanotubes have been the topic of much research, and they hold the potential for many biological and medical applications in the future.

#### CREATION OF QUANTUM DOTS

There are two basic methods to preparing nanostructures: the bottom-up approach and the top-down approach. The bottom-up approach collects, consolidates, and fashions individual atoms into the desired structure. This can be done by either chemical vapor decomposition or molecular beam epitaxy on a mismatched substrate. To create the quantum dots, a material is layered on a substrate with a mismatching lattice constant. This creates strain between the

materials, and quantum dots are formed. This approach has proven to create orderly arrays of self-assembled QDs. The top-down approach, also known as lithography, is just the opposite. Lithography requires starting with a large-scale object and gradually reducing the dimensions to the size specified. The first step involves coating a photon or electron-beam-sensitive resist on a substrate and lithographically exposing it to a beam of electrons. Then, a developer is applied to remove the irradiated portions of the resist, and a layer of either metal or dielectric etch mask is deposited everywhere on the structure. Next, the remaining parts of the resist are lifted off. Lastly, the areas of the quantum dot not covered by the etch mask are chemically etched away (Poole). Using this technique, complex nanostructures such as quantum dot arrays can be created.

Quantum dots form during the epitaxial growth of two semiconductors having two different lattice constants. The most common system consists of InAs dots grown on a GaAs substrate. Here, there is a 7% difference between the lattice constants. A mono atomic layer of InAs is deposited on the GaAs using molecular beam epitaxy or metal organic vapor phase epitaxy (MOVPE). The lattice strain continuously builds up to form three-dimensional growth in the form of islands. It has been experimentally shown that these islands usually form in a pyramidal shape (Jiang 1188). Typically the dimensions approach  $100 \times 70 \text{ \AA}$ , and the packing densities approach about  $70 \text{ \AA}$ . These islands form the Quantum dots, which have high optical quantum efficiency (Chakraborty).

## USING QUANTUM DOTS IN BIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS

To functionalize QDs in biological environments, there are two problems that need to be solved: making QDs fluoresce in aqueous environments, and conjugating them to specific bio-molecules. A common solution to the first problem involves coating CdSe QDs with trioctylphosphine oxide (TOPO) or mercaptoacetic acid (MAA). TOPO enhances the luminance emission of the QDs, but is only soluble in non polar solvents. MAA, on the other hand, allows dissolution in polar solvents, such as water. Semiconductol QDs are, by nature, inorganic materials not compatible with bio-molecules. However, by exploiting the ability of the surface metal ions to bond strongly with other compounds such as sulfur, QDs can become compatible in organic environments. There are many schemes that address this problem. One common solution for functionalizing QDs is conjugating CdS QDs with peptide sequences. Peptide sequences are strings of amino acids which all contain an  $\text{NH}_2$  group bound to  $\text{COOH}$  group by a carbon atom. This carbon atom is bounded to a hydrogen atom and a side-group, which distinguishes one amino acid from the other. A thiol compound, which contains a sulfur soluble compound, forms a shell around the QD so that it may be dispersed in water (Leon, 3186). Another method for conjugating quantum dots with bio-molecules involves the covalent bonding of a carboxyl group in a ligand to a carboxyl group on the bio-molecule. This is useful because the carboxyl group is very common in a wide variety of molecules such as proteins, antibodies, and DNA. One of the most

useful QD conjugates is called Streptavidin because it stabilizes the particle and provides a link between the QD and bio-molecules.

The role of peptide selectivity in the binding of QD complexes to cells has been examined by Alexons. Specifically, the  $\alpha 3 \beta 1$  integrin was examined, which existed in most tumor cells. Also, MDA-MB-435 cells have a high level of the  $\alpha v \beta 3$  integrin. To verify that the bindings did in fact occur, the MDA-MB-435 cells were exposed to CGGGRGDS and CGGGRVDS functionalized CdS QD complexes. From results indicated in Alexson's paper, it is clear that the CGGGRDGS based QDP complexes bind to the MDA-MB-435 cells while the CGGGRVDS based quantum-dot-peptide (QDP) complexes do not. These findings show the selectivity of peptides to the binding of QDP complexes to MDA-MB-435 cells. Also, it shows that there are unique peptides that link to unique QDP complexes.

#### MULTICOLOR FLUORESCENCE USING QUANTUM DOTS: REALIZATION AND APPLICATION

Bio-imaging is one of the most notable applications of this nanotechnology. This technology offers many advantages over fluorescence microscopy, which is a well established method for high-resolution biological imaging. Some of the drawbacks to fluorescence microscopy include sensitivity to environmental changes, such as pH, photo bleaching, Stokes shifts, and fixed emission spectra (Alexson R637). Quantum dots, on the other hand, are more robust and have the capability of inducing multicolor fluorescence with a single wavelength excitation source (Leon 3186). This is possible because there is energy loss due to lattice vibrations and transitions between the excited states and the ground state. Therefore, the wavelength of the re-emitted light may be longer than the wavelength of the light source. The specific wavelength that the QD emits is dependent on the energy gap of the semiconductor and the physical size of the QD. The following table shows some common nanocrystals and the relationship between diameter and the emission peak wavelength (Leon 3186).

NANOCRYSTAL	SIZE (DIAMETER NM)	EMISSION PEAK (NM)
Bare CdSe	3.9 +/- 0.4	575 (green)
Bare CdSe	4.6 +/- 0.4	587 (yellow)
Bare CdSe	5.4 +/- 0.4	615 (red)
Core shell CdSe/ZnS	3.6 +/- 0.3	565 (green)
Core shell CdSe/ZnS	6.5 +/- 0.5	620 (red)

Also, one should note that the sizes of these nanocrystals can be continuously and precisely tuned to obtain the desired wavelength. Figure 1 is an example of quantum luminescent dots.



Figure 1: Quantum luminescent dots (Evidenttech)

The applications of QDs in bio-photonics are not limited to bio-imaging. These nanostructures can also be used in bio-sensors, which fluoresce only in the presence of living organisms. These kinds of sensors are useful for "life detection" experiments on earth, or even other planets. Traditionally, fluorescent dyes are introduced into a soil, or other substance, and then excited with a light source. However, there are a few obstacles when using these dyes. Most dyes are organic and are sensitive to sterilization procedures as well as radiation bombardment and freeze-thaw. These sensitivities become of particular interest when dealing with non stable environments, such as space-flight. Biologically compatible QDs, however, look promising as a viable alternative to these dyes. In addition, space-flight often requires minimal space, mass, and energy considerations. Miniature lasers can be used as an excitation source for semiconductor nanocrystals and, as a result, are ideal for space applications (Leon 3186).

## FUTURE APPLICATIONS OF QUANTUM DOTS

Quantum dots can be used in many different areas, including liquids, fabrics, and polymers. Today, special dyes are often used as an anti-counterfeiting measure. These dyes may soon be replaced by quantum dot technology because of their superior versatility and tunability features. LED's are another technology that may soon be replaced by quantum dot LED's. The company Evident Tech is developing QLED™, an LED that will be tunable to any visible or infrared wavelength and can be fabricated into many different materials (Evidenttech). The same company is also working on a product called Evidist. Quantum dots can be made to look like ordinary dust and have the ability adhere to a person. However, unlike ordinary dust, QDs can be specified to emit infrared radiation at a desired wavelength. Therefore, they would act as good tracking devices or even as an anti-trespass device. One last application of QDs involves doping glasses and polymers with Quantum dots to change their optical qualities. Because QDs are semiconductors, they have the ability to change their electron population when exposed to a stimulus. This allows for the ability to change the absorption coefficient and refractive index by altering the power input to the QDs (Evidenttech).

## CARBON NANOSTRUCTURES



Carbon nanostructures are an important field of study because the carbon atom and the carbon bond are essential to the molecules of life. The carbon nanotube (CN) is certainly the biggest recent discovery in this field. A carbon nanotube is a concentric tube consisting of carbon-atom hexagons that are arranged in a helical fashion (Chakraborty). The diameter of CN's is usually between 20 and 300 Å and the length can exceed 1 μm. Figure 2 is a computer generated image of a carbon nanotube.

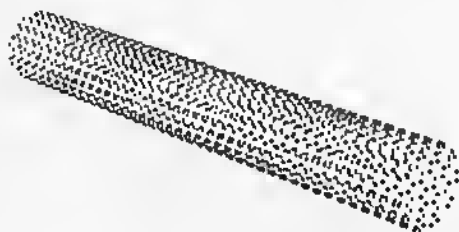


Figure 2: Carbon Nanotube (Royal Society)

The synthesis of CN's usually results in both metallic and semiconducting tubes, depending on the arrangement of the atoms. To describe the chirality of the tube, a chiral vector is often used. This vector consists of two integer values,  $n$  and  $m$ , which describe how the graphene sheet is wrapped along the  $T$  axis. These integers denote the number of unit vectors along two directions in the crystal lattice of the graphene. Two common nanotubes are "zigzag" with  $m = 0$  and "armchair" with a chiral vector of  $n = m$ . Suppose a nanotube is described by the ratio:

$$\frac{n - m}{3}$$

where  $n$  and  $m$  are integer values.

If this ratio is an integer value, then the single walled carbon nanotube (SWNT), will be metallic. Otherwise, it will be a semiconductor. For example, nanotubes (5,0), (6,4), and (9,1) are all semiconductors. From this relationship, it is clear that the chirality is the key factor in determining the properties of carbon nanotubes.

Figure 3 is a representation of the graphic plane. In this figure,  $T$  represents the tube axis, and  $a_1$  and  $a_2$  are the unit vectors of the graphene.

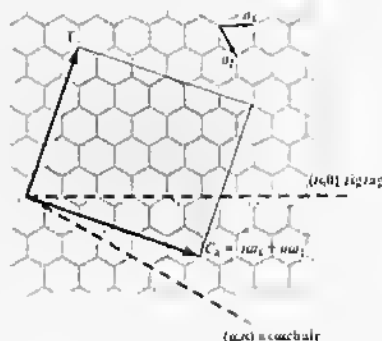


Figure 3: Graphite Plane (Wikipedia)

## MECHANICAL AND THERMAL PROPERTIES OF CARBON NANOTUBES

Carbon nanotubes have a variety of properties that make them unique. One interesting property is that they exhibit very good thermal conduction along the direction of the tube, but act as an insulator laterally to the tube axis. Also, like any other material, nanotubes are weakened by defects in the material. A given defect can reduce the strength of the tube by as much as 85% (Wikipedia). However, carbon nanotubes can be created so that they have barely any defects. Therefore, they are relatively strong and durable. To characterize the flexibility of this material, we can define the stress,  $S$ , applied to the tube as:

$$S = Ee$$

where  $E$  is Young's modulus and  $e$  is the strain defined by:

$$e = \frac{\Delta L}{L}$$

where  $L$  is the length of the "wire" before it is stretched.

From these equations, the Young's modulus ( $E$ ) that characterizes the flexibility of the material can be resolved. Carbon nanotubes have been found to have a Young's modulus ranging from 1.28 to 1.8 TPa—this is about 10 times the Young's modulus of steel. It would appear, then, that CNs would be very stiff (Poole). This is not true, however, because it does not take into account the thickness of tube. Because the tubes are so thin (about .34nm wall thickness), nanotubes are actually very flexible. They can be bent in half and will return to their original shape without any distortion. This is due to the rehybridizing nature of the carbon-carbon  $sp^2$  bonds. In addition, carbon nanotubes are extremely strong. Their tensile strength is about 45 billion pascals compared to the 2 billion pascals of a strong steel-alloy material.

## ELECTRICAL PROPERTIES OF CARBON NANOTUBES

The electrical properties of semiconductor nanotubes have been studied and show the following results: As the diameter of the tube increases, the bandgap between the valence and conduction band decreases (Poole). This was shown to be a linear dependence relationship. In addition, the electronic structure of nanotubes has been investigated. If one plots the differential conductance ( $G = I/V$ ) of the tube versus the applied voltage, it is easy to see how close the electron energy levels are to each other. In other words, it is a measurement of the density of states of the electrons.

From these plots, the energy gap can be derived. Looking at the 2<sup>nd</sup> plot, there is very little current flow for voltages ranging 0 – 7 volts. The bandgap energy of CN is .7eV.

Another interesting characteristic is that these tubes can also be treated as wires in the right scenario. Because of their scale, quantum mechanical effects must be used to describe the electrons. In the quantum mechanical world, particles are treated as both particles and waves. This concept developed because of the discovery of de Broglie's wavelength. This says that:

$$p = \frac{h\nu}{c} = \frac{h}{\lambda}$$

where  $p$  is the momentum of the particle,

$h$  is Planck's constant

$c$  is the speed of light

$\nu$  is the frequency

and  $\lambda$  is the wavelength.

This equation relates the momentum of a particle with a wavelength, which is associated with a wave. In carbon nanotubes, the only electrons that may pass through must have a de Broglie wavelength that is a multiple of the circumference of the tube. This causes the tube to act like a one-dimensional quantum wire that can be modeled by a potential well having energy of the length of the nanotube (Poole).

## APPLICATIONS OF CARBON NANOTUBES

Carbon nanotubes display field emission. In other words, when an electric field is applied along the axis of the nanotubes, electrons are emitted from the ends of the tube. There are several ways that this can be used. One application currently being developed is using these nanotubes to create flat panel displays. Instead of using an electron gun to excite the phosphors on the TV screen, electron emission from the nanotubes can be used to create the image. Another good property of carbon nanotubes is that they are poor transmitters of

electromagnetic energy. This is especially important in military applications where there are concerns about electromagnetic pulses damaging equipment.

Field-effect transistors (FET) are yet another possible future application for carbon nanotubes. Experimental carbon nanotube FETs have been shown to exhibit similar conductive properties to silicon FETs. However, nanotubes have the advantage of having a much faster switching rate than silicon counterparts. If these FET's were to be implemented in a computer, it could theoretically have a clock speed of about  $10^4$  times the speed of current microprocessors. In addition, the use of nanotubes would shrink the size of processors significantly.

Using carbon fiber for reinforcement of materials is fairly common today. This same concept can be applied to carbon nanotubes. For example, research at General Motors has shown that adding nested carbon nanotubes to polypropylene doubles its tensile strength. Also, a study at the University of Tokyo has shown that incorporating 5% carbon nanotubes by volume increases the tensile strength of aluminum by a factor of 2 (Poole).

Lastly, carbon nanotubes have been proposed as components for DNA and protein biosensors, ion channel blockers, and bioseparators and catalysts. Carbon nanotubes are also becoming relevant in neuroscience research and tissue engineering (Bianco 571).

## **FUTURE OF NANOTECHNOLOGY**

As we move into the future, nanotechnology is becoming increasingly important not only in engineering, but in biology and chemistry as well. Advances in the field of semiconductor nanotechnology have and will continue to have a tremendous impact on electronic and optic-electronic devices. Traditional devices have been improved in terms of speed, size, as well as cost. Emerging technologies such as quantum dots and carbon nanotubes hold the potential to revolutionize several areas in optics, electronics, imaging, security, and materials.

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## ROBERT VENTURI

COMPLEXITIES, CONTRADICTIONS, AND THE VANNA VENTURI HOUSE

## ALEXANDER SHELLY

The 1960s were a time of revolution in the United States. Uprisings were occurring in many fields, and architecture was no exception. The first half of the century had been dominated by the ideas of Modernism. It was not until the Sixties that this movement's beliefs were brought into question, largely by a revolutionary young architect named Robert Venturi. Venturi wrote a "gentle manifesto" that expressed his beliefs on what architecture should be. In *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, Venturi attempted to rework the principles of Modernism and give it a greater civic importance through the consideration of Classical traditions and the significance of meaning in architecture (Roth, *Understanding* 503). Although the book was published in 1966, Venturi wrote it almost five years earlier, at the same time that he was designing a house for Vanna Venturi, his mother (von Moos 244). Completed in 1964, the house made Venturi a prominent architect. The Vanna Venturi House was a physical example of the use of precedents and meanings Robert Venturi expressed in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*.

Modernism was about progress. Modernists believed that the time period in which they lived was a new beginning that should be liberated from the traditions of the past (Ibelings 45). They idealized the future city as a majestic place that answered all their needs and was unmistakably better than anything the past had to offer (Sutton 318). According to John R. Gold in *The Experience of Modernism*, by "embracing deep social commitment, purged of applied ornamentation and other 'paraphernalia of historical remanence,' modern architecture arose from the rational application of technology to building and construction" (2). Technology allowed Modernists to escape the "trappings" of the past. Mies van der Rohe, a significant Modern architect, proclaimed that

"less is more" which signifies the Modernist attitude towards a minimalist architecture (Ibelings 45). Modernist architecture exhibited an absence of applied ornament, the use of advanced constructional techniques and new building materials such as steel, glass, and reinforced concrete, and the use of elementary geometric forms (Gold 100, Ibelings 45). Architects of the Modern movement shunned the use of Classical traditions in their work.

Although Modernists rejected traditional precedents, Venturi embraced them. In *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, Venturi stressed the necessity of tradition. Venturi considered himself an architect of the Western Classical tradition (Venturi 25), and felt that the use of classical precedents produced a complex architecture that is full of contradictions (Venturi, *Complexity* 19). To Venturi, past elements could be used to provide a variety of meanings and create a richness in architecture that Modernism lacked. He believed that traditional elements were essential to architecture. In *A History of Western Architecture* David Watkin wrote that Venturi "recommended a revival of the 'presence of the past' in architectural design. His aim was to show how architecture, before the modern movement, was capable of embodying many levels of meaning simultaneously" (Watkin 660). In *The Familiar and The Unfamiliar in Twentieth-Century Architecture*, Jean La Marche claimed that Venturi desired "... an architecture based on association, claiming that 'an architecture that depends on association in its perception depends on association in its creation,'" (La Marche 90) and he believed that Classical architecture's familiar forms make it possible to invoke representation and meaning (Levine 45). The use of traditional elements created relatable architecture. Throughout *Complexity and Contradiction*, Venturi used a multitude of historical references to demonstrate the ability of traditional elements to produce an architectural thought (Levine 45). He felt that the Modernist aesthetic of minimalism lacked complexity and proclaimed that "less is a bore" (*Complexity* 17). He believed that it is to the architect's advantage to use traditional precedents rather than ignore them. Through the use of precedents, the architect could create a building far more powerful and compelling.

The architect must also consider the need for and significance of meaning in architecture. This idea is expressed clearly in *Complexity and Contradiction*. Venturi believed that "a valid architecture evokes many levels of meaning and combinations of focus: its space and its elements become readable and workable in several ways at once" (*Complexity* 16). He proclaimed that he is "...for richness of meaning rather than clarity of meaning..." (16). The overlapping of meanings makes architecture engaging and provocative. Venturi felt Modernism overlooked the importance of meaning. To evoke meaning in architecture, Venturi proposed numerous design techniques that incorporated Classical and Modern elements. The presence of ambiguity and tension was an architectural device Venturi believed would lead to complex architecture and richness of meaning (20). Venturi wrote:



Architecture is form *and* substance—abstract *and* concrete—and its meaning derives from its interior characteristics and its particular context. An architectural element is perceived as form *and* structure, texture *and* material. These oscillating relationships, complex and contradictory, are the source of the ambiguity and tension characteristic to the medium of architecture. (20)

Venturi explained that “the calculated ambiguity of expression [was] based on the confusion of experience as reflected in the architectural program. These promote[d] richness of meaning over clarity of meaning” (20-22). In general, ambiguous relationships allow the viewer to interpret architecture idiosyncratically using historical precedents as reference points. Venturi believed that these relationships appeal to the senses, creating deeper associations within the individual.

The phenomenon of “both-and” architecture further developed this richness of meaning. The “both-and” ideal created contradictory aspects and sentiments within architecture. It can be described by the conjunctive “yet.” For instance, a building can be explained as enclosed yet open (*Complexity* 23). It is this simultaneous perception of a variety of levels that creates complexity and contradictions for the observers, but inevitably makes their perception more dramatic (23). The multitude of meanings created by “both-and” architecture only serve to enhance the observer’s experience. At one moment, one meaning will prevail, but at a different angle a different meaning may be preferred (32). In *The Architecture of Robert Venturi*, Christopher Mead explains that Venturi used the “both-and” method to justify the classical tradition of ornament “...as the ‘rhetorical element’ of architecture which ‘enriches meaning by underscoring’” (Mead 3).

Venturi also suggested the use of the conventional element in the unconventional way. He held that the architects of his day neglected being experts in the use of convention—the elements, forms and methods of building—because they were too focused on the development of new techniques (*Complexity* 42-43). He considered the use of conventions necessary for an architect, and declared:

The architect thereby, through the organization of parts, creates meaningful contexts for them within the whole. Through unconventional organization of conventional parts he is able to create new meanings within the whole. If he uses convention unconventionally, if he organizes familiar things in an unfamiliar way, he is changing their contexts, and he can use even the cliché to gain a fresh effect. Familiar things seen in an unfamiliar context become perceptually new as well as old. (43)

Classical elements and precedents used in different ways than they had been throughout history create complexity and contradiction. Using any element in a different way than it was intended for produces an ambiguous effect. Although an observer may be familiar with the conventional elements, when the elements are used in an unconventional manner that is previously undefined, it distorts his or her understanding of the elements and generates many new possible meanings. Combining the unconventional use of conventional elements with new elements created to fit the eccentricities of the project will create a unique whole exhibiting a complex unity (La Marche 87).

To accomplish these key features for meaningful architecture, Venturi highlighted a few subtle design techniques. Superadjacency is one way for architecture to be "inclusive rather than exclusive" and have a multitude of meanings (*Complexity* 61). Venturi defined superadjacency as the contradiction within architectural elements juxtaposed. Superadjacency produced richness by relating distant or contrasting elements, allowing the observer to see familiar things in an unfamiliar way (61). Venturi believed order enhanced meanings in architecture—especially when that order is interrupted or broken. He explained that "an artful discord [gave] vitality to architecture" (41). A broken order added complexity to the design of a building and could create a mystifying effect on the observer. Venturi also encouraged the use of a "double-functioning" element. He believed the "double-functioning" element was complex because it had multiple functions in use and structure (34). This combined element contradicted with Modernism's emphasis on specialization and allowed for a layering of effects and meanings to occur (34). The use of these qualities further developed sophisticated architecture.

Finally, Venturi wrote that all these methods and elements come together to create diverse meanings through a complex whole. It is the complex whole that an architect should strive for: "...An architecture of complexity and contradiction has a special obligation toward the whole; its truth must be in its totality. It must embody the difficult unity of inclusion rather than the easy unity of exclusion. More is not less" (*Complexity* 16). The architect must create unity through a multitude of diverse elements and relationships. Venturi suggested that inflection was a way to do this because inflection implies the whole "...by exploiting the nature of the individual parts, rather than their position or number... [It] is a means of distinguishing diverse parts while implying continuity. It involves the art of the fragment" (88-90). Inflection – the creation of new hybrid forms out of the close association of adjacent parts – was a means of conquering the difficult whole of a duality (94). Inflection provided a way to complete a building and tie it together. Venturi wrote:

it is the taut composition which contains contrapuntal relationships, equal combinations, inflected fragments, and acknowledged dualities. It is the unity which 'maintains, but

only just maintains, a control over the clashing elements which compose it. (104)

The building must be unified. Although the building has a diversity of meanings and elements, these elements and meanings must all fuse together in some way to create a whole that is poetic and cohesive. All the complexities and differing meanings throughout the building must be both unified and expressed at the same time within the whole. Every aspect of the building must be directed towards the totality of the whole.

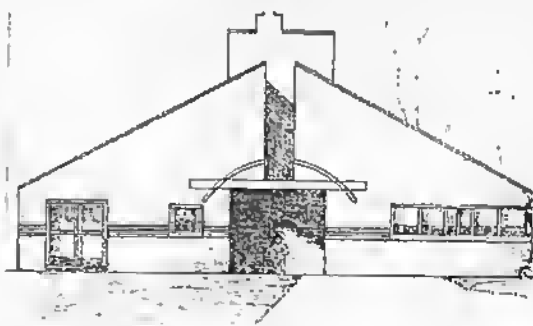
Robert Venturi communicated his philosophy of *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* through the Vanna Venturi House. The house, although it may look quite simple, is the essence of Venturi's philosophy. He wrote that the house:

recognize[d] complexities and contradictions; it [was] both complex and simple, open and closed, big and little; some of its elements are good on one level and bad on another....It achieve[d] the difficult unity of a medium number of diverse parts rather than the easy unity of few or many motival parts. (118)

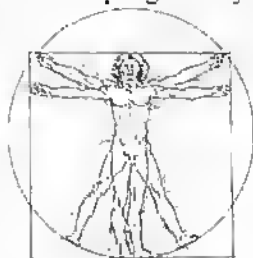
It was able to use the Classical Mannerist aesthetic in a modern way. The architect Aldo Rossi proclaimed "the house illustrates that architectural elements can be used symbolically and that history includes both the distant and recent past" (Rossi 11-12). The Vanna Venturi House is complex and contradictory in its totality.

The scale of the house created a complexity in itself. The house was surprisingly small, but, because the size of its elements, gave the illusion that it was a large building. This caused the house to be both "big and little." Venturi felt that the "big scale in this small building [achieved] an appropriate architectural tension" satisfying his "both-and" requirement (*Complexity* 118).

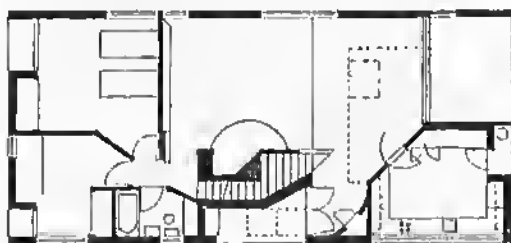
Important to the large scale of the building was the great gable roof, which dominated the front façade. A triangular pediment, as exemplified in the roof, was common throughout the history of architecture. Placed on the building, it symbolizes "house" and "shelter" (Scully 12). From the street, the observer would automatically distinguish the function of the



building because of the familiar associations it possessed. The element is used specifically to embody what the meaning of a house is and should be. Its basic geometric shape amplified its fundamental meaning. The simple geometry also gave the front a vaguely Modernist appeal. The pediment's over exaggeration bordered on Mannerism, while the split in it revealed the chimney behind, which suggested the Mannerist effect of spatial layering (Venturi, *Venturi* 25). Furthermore, the gable roof front was just a façade, which alluded to the decorated shed he would develop a few years later. The front becomes a sign, establishing what the building's function is (Venturi, *Venturi* 25).



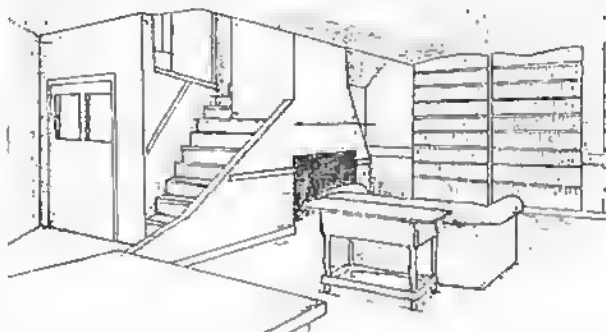
Another element that was full of complexities and allusions was the entry of the house. Classical elements—an arch and lintel—hung above the square entry opening. Throughout history, both of these elements have been used in doorways, and in this house they provided the symbolic image of “entrance” (Levine 58). However, the arch here does not serve any true structural importance; rather, it is used in the Mannerist style of applied ornament. The arch is a conventional architectural element used in an unconventional way. It is simply a symbol in this sense. The lintel, also a symbol, is called out by its grey color, which differed from pale green of the house. Venturi added more complexity by putting a blind wall at the back of the square entry opening. The front door was actually located on the right wall of this opening, hidden from the observer. This feature is reminiscent of H.H. Richardson’s Glessner House and created ambiguity in the perception of the house. When looked at together, the arch and square opening suggested the Classical ideal of the Vitruvian man. It was a manifestation of DaVinci’s ideal of man fitting perfectly inside a circle and square. In *The Architecture of Robert Venturi*, Architecture historian Vincent Scully stated that:



The human figure fitted in the circle and the square constitutes the most obsessive image of Western architectural theory. It derives from a passage in Vitruvius, which surely has much older, probably Pythagorean, sources behind it. The circle and the square became the basis for Gothic and Renaissance architecture alike, and . . . for the International Style as well. (12)

The figure at the center of the entry became the source of power and was made a hero by the building (Scully 40). It was through Classical allusion that the entry invoked meaning to the composition.

Venturi developed a complex and intricate plan for the interior that showed "the greatest effort [was] at the spatial junction of the entrance, the staircase and the fireplace. Here the play of light and shadow, of reflections on glass, of layered volume, of view and privacy of ordinariness and allusion [were] all under powerful control" (Dunster 56). Venturi manipulated the spaces in such a way that they were eerily captivating yet uniquely livable. "Their interaction with each other," David Dunster writes in *Key Buildings of the Twentieth Century*, "provoke[d] a restlessness which [was] juxtaposed with the simple domesticity of the living area. There [was] no single meaning to this juxtaposition. The visitor [was] left spellbound by the invention"

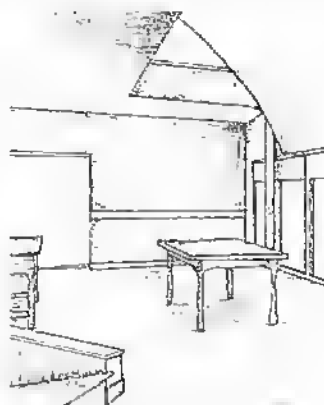


(Dunster 56). In this area, the stair was distorted by the demands of the entrance and the central fireplace (Venturi 15). In fact, the interaction between the fireplace and the staircase produced a magnificent complexity. Each of the elements compromised with the demands of the other, giving the form a unique appearance. The fireplace was distorted in shape and its chimney was shifted off slightly to accommodate for the staircase; in return, the staircase tightened and shifted its path to adjust to the chimney (Venturi 25). This interaction was based on Mannerism (Schwartz 27).

The staircase and hearth were the central core of the plan, and, by combining to form in a sense a single element, they provided multiple meanings that are felt throughout the house. With the stairway and hearth in the middle, the house's plan resembled the hall-parlor plan that was used in New England in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although similar to the hall-parlor plan, Venturi's use of spaces suggested more Modern influences. The rooms and spaces in the house radiated off of this central core. In this sense, the plan was based on the precedents of both Frank Lloyd Wright and Classicism (Roth *American* 485). Venturi combined distant and recent pasts to create a unique intricacy of spaces. Frederic Schwartz stated in *Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates* that "the interior spaces [were] complex in form and interrelation, which correspond[ed] both to the intrinsic complexity of the domestic program and to certain specific peculiarities of a house for a single person" (Schwartz 27). An additional contradiction was the "stair to nowhere" on the second floor. This was

significant because it did not lead anywhere, but was simply a means of cleaning the windows (*Complexity* 118). This was an example of the difficult inclusion that combines all devices which Venturi sought. The plan of the house contained many elements that are both complex and contradictory, and lead to multiple meanings and moods within the house's composition.

Venturi also used windows in a complicated way, which makes them integral to the Vanna Venturi House. Their variety of shapes and locations on the exterior echoed the complex interior (*Venturi* 25). Although their sizes and shapes varied, the front remained balanced. The windows were surrounded by a thin trim (Roth *American* 485), and actually look like windows, as opposed to windows of the Modernist aesthetic which lack ornamentation (*Venturi* 25). The window arrangements were necessary for their interior functions. The string of windows on the right side of the building let light into the kitchen, and the large window on the left provided exterior illumination into the bedroom. The bedroom on the second floor had a Palladian-like window in the rear (La Marche 96), which further demonstrated Venturi's belief in the need for tradition in architecture. The back of the building also possessed a window of Classical distinction. There was a half-arch clerestory window that let light into the first floor dining area, which created a splendid lighting effect. This window had Classical churches of the Renaissance as its precedent. Venturi used windows as a means to show the complexities of the plan and unite the interior and exterior of the building.



Robert Venturi's architecture demonstrated that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. His style created a multi-faceted architecture. Through the combination of past and present elements in architecture, he was able to create a multitude of meanings in his work. More was not less. By combining traditional and modern aspects, Venturi's architecture could not be categorized into a particular style. This allowed his work to speak on a larger scale, with each element working to enrich the effect of the whole. Furthermore, Venturi explained in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* that the principles required to make a complex whole in a building could be used on the scale of the city. His work had historical influences which he combined with Modern elements, creating a new architectural approach. Venturi and *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* became key influences on the Post-Modern movement and its return to a more traditional architectural vocabulary.

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## THE PETRODOLLAR

### OIL, WAR, AND AMERICAN TRADE POLICY

ALEX GROSSKURTH

The War in Iraq is one of the most controversial political subjects of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. It has shaken the international order, framed political debate around the world, and mobilized millions to demonstrate, both for and against it. But three years into the war, with over 2,250 (iCasualties.org) American soldiers and wide-ranging estimates of 30,000 to over 100,000 Iraqis killed (Wikipedia), and with no end in sight, does the American public have *any* idea what this war is about? Where are the Weapons of Mass Destruction? Why did the U.S. invade? Why are there coalition forces still occupying Iraq, and are they building permanent military bases? Why has the U.S. government spent over \$240 billion in this conflict (Costofwar.com)? Will this be "another Vietnam," or is it already? *Is Iran next...*?

The entirely under-appreciated strategic role of something called the *Petrodollar* provides one of the most compelling answers to this quandary and many others, yet it is never mentioned in discussed in the mainstream media. There comes a time where one must shed light, not only upon the War in Iraq, but more crucially, upon the hidden nature of international relations and U.S. foreign policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

### THE WAR IN IRAQ

A brief history lesson of recent events is in order to help better understand the complicated events that have taken place. As early as September 14, 2001, the Bush administration began hinting at a possible invasion of Iraq. Rumors that Saddam Hussein had links with Al Qaeda and the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks suddenly surfaced, as did old claims that the Iraqi dictator was producing

weapons of mass destruction. On October 9<sup>th</sup>, Donald Rumsfeld put forth the idea that Iraq may have been involved in the anthrax outbreak of 2001. Then, on November 26<sup>th</sup>, President Bush put forth his first ultimatum: Iraq must allow UN weapons inspectors back into its country, or “face the consequences” (Jeffery). The hype was escalated by President Bush’s “Axis of Evil” speech during the State of the Union address on January 29, 2002. Soon after, news reports suggesting that Iraq was producing biological and chemical weapons began to appear daily in the mainstream media. Bush spoke at the United Nations on September 12, 2002, repeating his ultimatum that inspections be restarted (Borger and Traynor). Then, just four days later, Saddam Hussein gave in and accepted *the unconditional return* of UN weapons inspectors, with access to all sites (Engel, MacAskill and Watt).

But it was as if the inspections did not matter at all. The drive to war was continued, indeed *escalated*, by the United States and Britain. On September 23, British Prime Minister Tony Blair spoke of “persuasive and overwhelming” evidence that Iraq was reassembling its weapons program “as fast as it can,” and implied that Iraq could produce *nuclear weapons* within one year (Wintour). Then, on October 11, 2002, with elections nearing, the U.S. Congress voted somewhat overwhelmingly to allow President Bush the use of force against Iraq (CNN). Diplomatic wrangling continued for the next five months, as Bush attempted to gain allies into the “coalition of the willing,” all the while daily reports of the dangers of Iraq appeared amidst waving American flags and pump-up music on television. The facts seemed to not match up with the claims we were hearing almost constantly in the news. On February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2003, Hans Blix, chief weapons inspector for the UN, issued his report, that Iraq was cooperating with the inspections and no evidence had been found of Weapons of Mass Destruction (Borger and MacAskill, “A Case”).

Many European allies of the United States refused to take part in the Bush administration’s impending invasion of Iraq. Led by France and Germany, the two countries most influential in the European Union, they lobbied the United Nations Security Council not to endorse the potential war against Iraq, an effort that succeeded when China and Russia refused their support for war (Henley and Hooper). As a result, the United States went to war under the guise of enforcing UN resolutions without the UN’s support. War began on March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2003, and after surprisingly little resistance by the Iraqi army we had been warned of for months, President Bush proclaimed “mission accomplished” on May 1<sup>st</sup> of that same year (Wikipedia).

It has now been almost three years since that victory was proclaimed, and despite mounting evidence that pre-war intelligence was wrong, both in the lack of weapons of mass destruction and links between Al Qaeda and Iraq, the U.S. and British militaries continue to occupy Iraq. While violence against occupation forces is daily and consistent, and the U.S. military was caught using torture and abusing prisoners, rhetoric has shifted almost completely to

"building/securing democracy" for the Iraqi people. But an October 2005 poll showed that 82% of Iraqis were "strongly opposed" to the continued foreign military presence, while less than 1% believed the forces have a positive effect on security (Norton-Taylor). Now, with 47% of Iraqis calling attacks against coalition forces justified (World Public Opinion.org), and even newly-elected Iraqi leadership calling on coalition forces to withdraw, answers are desperately needed as to why the U.S. intends to "stay the course."

The *petrodollar* is defined as "oil revenues denominated in U.S. dollars" (Oweiss, "Definition"). This is equivalent to the revenue from all oil trade in the world, because *virtually all global oil purchases are made in U.S. dollars* (Nunan, "Petrodollar"). Many antiwar critics argued in the buildup to the invasion of Iraq that oil was a key motivating factor for the U.S. Indeed, Iraq may have as much as an estimated 200 billion barrels of oil in reserves, according to the *Petroleum Economist Magazine*, which translates to approximately 20% of all remaining global oil reserves (Brookings). Iraq's economy is completely dominated by oil, which provides about 95% of the nation's trade earnings (Wikipedia). But the Bush administration's intentions may have less to do with direct control over Iraqi oilfields than over the currency with which that oil is sold. *On November 6<sup>th</sup>, 2000, Iraq was granted approval from the UN to sell its oil in the "oil-for-food" program for euros, the first time a major oil exporter had stopped using the petrodollar.*

This drastic move was taken by Saddam Hussein despite the likelihood that it would hurt the Iraqi economy, because the euro had just reached a historic low of 0.82 to the dollar (Islam). However, the act constituted a very real economic threat to the United States, which is almost certainly why it was taken. To prevent the possibility that other Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) nations would follow the Iraqis' lead and abandon the petrodollar, the invasion of Iraq became a virtual inevitability, and it would not be long until a suitable justification arrived in the form of September 11<sup>th</sup> (Harris). Meanwhile, Iraq's switch to the euro created a direct benefit for the European Union. Immediately after the change, the value of the euro appreciated by 30% as compared to the dollar (Nunan, "Petrodollar"). It should come as little surprise then, that *the two nations most dependent on the euro, France and Germany, were the leading opposition to the invasion of Iraq, while the UK, which resists use of the euro, was the strongest supporter of the U.S.*

After the invasion, when exports of Iraqi oil restarted in June of 2003, the occupational authority announced that payment for the oil would once again be accepted in dollars only (Coalition Provisional Authority). At the same time, the billions of Iraqi euros controlled by the UN under the "oil-for-food" program were promptly transferred into the "Development Fund for Iraq," a dollar account controlled by the U.S.(UN Security Council). Therefore, *the need for the United States to maintain the petrodollar regime lies at the heart of the rationale for the invasion of Iraq.*

## THE PETRODOLLAR

The petrodollar became a part of global trade policy at the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement. Those talks, which included all 44 Allied WWII nations, also spawned the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, and established the new post-war capitalist order that would promote free trade and permit the U.S. global economic superiority (Wikipedia). The IMF, which exclusively uses U.S. dollars for its loans, was given the task of managing the global currency scheme. The scheme works as follows: Western Europe, Japan, and the United States buy oil from oil-exporting countries in dollars. Developing countries buy necessary goods and services with dollars borrowed from Western commercial banks. The process of recycling is complete when those commercial banks and institutions obtain investments from oil-exporting countries (Oweiss, "Allocation"). As a result, if a nation wants oil, which every modern economy depends upon, it needs dollars to buy that oil. "In an effort to prevent speculative and potentially harmful attacks on their currencies, all nations' central banks must acquire and hold dollar reserves in amounts corresponding to their own currencies in circulation" (Harris). *Today, more than four-fifths of all foreign exchange transactions, two-thirds of all exchange reserves and half of all world exports are denominated in dollars* (Harris). Thus, the dollar became the default global currency (Nunan, "Petrodollar").

Since every nation backs up its own currency with dollars, there is very little concern for inflation, as the dollar's stable value is depended upon by every bank in the world. If the value of the dollar were to somehow drop, every nation that uses dollars would have a serious vested interest in correcting the problem. The rest of the world has to provide the U.S. with goods and services, including oil, in exchange for these dollars. "Trade between nations has become a cycle in which the U.S. produces dollars and the rest of the world produces things that dollars can buy" (Harris). *And because the dollars cost the U.S. next to nothing to produce, the U.S. is effectively importing vast quantities of goods and services virtually for free, without fear of inflation* (Nunan, "Petrodollar"). "So the U.S. can carry on printing money - effectively IOUs - to fund tax cuts, increased military spending, and consumer spending on imports without fear of inflation or that these loans will be called in. As keeper of the global currency there is always the last-ditch resort to devaluation, which forces other countries' exporters to pay for U.S. economic distress. It's probably the nearest thing to a 'free lunch' in global economics" (Islam).

This confers on the U.S. a major economic advantage: the ability to run a trade deficit year after year. The U.S. imports 50% more goods and services than it exports, pushing the U.S. trade deficit to extraordinary levels (Nunan, "Petrodollar"). But so long as the dollar remains the dominant international currency the U.S. can continue consuming more than it produces and, for example, build up its military strength while simultaneously affording tax cuts (Nunan, "Petrodollar"). Even without the gold standard, abolished by Nixon in

1971, the U.S. currency is inherently stable because every nation depends upon its stability (Harris). At the time of Bretton Woods, this "dollar hegemony" was not controversial because the U.S. was the only economy left standing after the war, but more so because up until the early 1950s the US accounted for over 50% of the world's annual oil production (Williams).

Oil is the key to the entire system. "Oil is not just by far the most important commodity traded internationally, it is the lifeblood of all modern industrialized economies. If you don't have oil, you have to buy it. And if you want to buy oil on the international markets, you have to have dollars" (Nunan, "Oil"). After Bretton Woods, virtually every international oil purchase was made in U.S. dollars, even those by hostile OPEC nations (Nunan, "Oil"). This arrangement meant that the U.S. had major power over the world oil market, as the only nation able to print dollars. The more dollars there are circulating outside the US, (currently about 3 trillion (Islam)), the more "surplus petrodollars" are floating around to be invested by foreign nations in U.S. assets, producing a capital-accounts surplus for the U.S. economy (Harris). All oil-importing nations, whether developed or developing, must hold reserves of dollars to purchase oil, and all oil-exporting nations are *awash* with dollars because they flow in faster than they can be spent. "Approximately \$600 to \$800 billion petrodollars are annually invested by OPEC back into the U.S. via Treasury Bills or other dollar-denominated assets such as U.S. stocks, bonds, real estate, etc" (Clark). This also gives tremendous political advantage to the United States in the ability to freeze these assets whenever an oil-exporting nation gets out of line; the U.S. used this penalty against both Iran and Libya during the 1980s (Oweiss, "Definition"). There exist other hidden "benefits" as well from OPEC nations drowning in these surplus petrodollars. Given that the U.S. is the number one arms dealer in the world, many oil-rich nations decide to funnel their excess dollars into the U.S. arms market, such as both Iran and Iraq during their decade-long war (Oweiss, "Definition").

The danger associated with global dependence on the petrodollar first appeared during the 1970s' "oil shocks." In 1973, Arab nations invaded Israel in what became the Yom Kippur War (Wikipedia). Because of American economic and military support for Israel, OPEC struck America where it hurt most: the gas tank. The Arab nations of OPEC, OAPEC, declared an oil embargo against the United States; at the same time, OPEC declared a general price raise (IMF, "OPEC"). These combined to cause an unexpected economic recession and severe energy crisis in the U.S. during the winter of 1973-4, as oil prices quadrupled (Wikipedia).

The American economy was faced with "stagflation," the dilemma of simultaneous massive unemployment and inflation. The dollar went into a tailspin, which posed a threat not only to the U.S. economy but to the world economy. The IMF explains: "The U.S. dollar was still the primary reserve currency of the world. Countries holding dollars, instead of gold, as a reserve

asset did not want to see the value of their assets fall" (IMF, "Countries"). As such, Germany, Japan, and even OPEC nations attempted to help the U.S. halt the fall of the dollar's value. When U.S. dollar rates returned to their previously high levels, developing nations, who had taken huge developmental loans against the weak dollar, were forced to pay back debts with substantially higher interest rates. According to the IMF, "Higher interest payments are estimated to have cost the non-oil-producing developing countries at least \$22 billion during 1978-81" (IMF, "Countries").

In 1979, foreign investors, including Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing nations, started to back away from holding U.S. dollars as reserves, since they could no longer count on the currency to retain its value. Not wanting their economic fate to be so dependent upon the U.S. stock exchange, they sold their surplus dollars for alternative reserve assets, such as German marks, Japanese yen, and Swiss francs (IMF, "Countries"). However, the value of the dollar eventually stabilized, and *without an established alternative currency*, the petrodollar retained its global hegemony.

### THE PETROEURO?

The euro might be just that alternative, which has the U.S. terrified. "When the euro was first dreamed up in the 1980s, it was not just the hope of further economic integration that was the driving force. One hope of the framers of the euro was that it would become a new reserve currency to rival the US dollar" (BBC). The Euro was introduced in 1999, as a single currency for the European Union. Currently twelve EU nations rely on the euro, with up to ten new members likely to join the "Eurozone" in coming years (Wikipedia). There is no doubt that a unified Europe poses a threat to the United States. The EU is larger and richer than the United States, with a population of 456,953,258 compared to the U.S.'s 295,734,134, and a GDP of \$12.3 trillion compared to the U.S.'s \$11.8 trillion (CIA World Factbook). Though the U.S. has the largest military in the world, it might be extremely vulnerable to that flimsy piece of paper called the euro.

Were the euro to become a reserve currency equal to, or perhaps even instead of, the dollar, countries would reduce their dollar holdings while building up their euro savings (Nunan, "Petrodollar"). The result would be a devastating effect on the U.S. economy. As nations converted their dollars to euros, the dollar would depreciate in value, reinforcing the position of the euro and encouraging other nations to follow suit. Foreigners would become reluctant to hold on to the trillions of U.S. dollars floating around, and seek to spend back that money in the U.S. *The U.S. would have to completely reverse its trade deficit to a trade surplus*, importing currency and providing the rest of the world more goods and services than it was receiving in return (Nunan, "Petrodollar").

If the euro replaced the dollar too rapid, the result could be total economic meltdown. The U.S. property and stock market bubbles would burst (Nunan, "Petrodollar"). The Federal Reserve, instead of being able to simply print more money, would have to deal with hyper-inflation the likes of which not even post-WWI Germany suffered. The U.S. \$8 trillion foreign debt (Wikipedia) would compound the monetary crisis, as the collapse of the dollar would cause interest rates to soar. But this is an outcome that no one, not even France or Germany, is seeking, because the world economy would be dragged down along with the U.S. Europe would much prefer to see a gradual move to a euro world (Nunan, "Petrodollar").

Again, oil is the key to the success or failure of the euro. If OPEC, which holds approximately two-thirds of the world's oil reserves (Wikipedia), decided to accept the euro for its sales of crude, then global petrodollar hegemony would be threatened, as would American economic dominance. Not only would Europe not need as many dollars anymore, but Japan, which imports over 80% of its oil from the Middle East, would think it wise to convert a large portion of its dollar assets to euro assets as well (Nunan, "Oil"). The U.S. on the other hand, being the world's largest oil importer, would need to acquire euros to feed its oil addiction, and as such, the "petroeuro" would achieve global monetary supremacy.

The purely economic arguments for OPEC transitioning to the euro are actually quite viable. The Eurozone is already the Middle East's main trading partner, with 45% of Middle East imports coming from Europe (Islam). The Eurozone does not run a huge trade deficit like the U.S., and interest rates in the Eurozone are also significantly higher (Nunan, "Oil"). And anything bought with dollars can be paid for in euros; except, of course, for oil (Nunan, "Oil"). So will OPEC make the switch?

Back in 2002, in a little noticed OPEC speech, Javad Yarjani, a senior Iranian oil diplomat, said: "It is quite possible that as bilateral trade increases between the Middle East and the European Union, it could be feasible to price oil in euros. This would foster further ties between these trading blocs by increasing commercial exchange, and by helping attract much-needed European investment in the Middle East" (Islam).

Indeed, many OPEC nations have been lining up in favor of the euro. Shortly after Iraq made the switch in November 2000, Jordan launched its own bilateral trade scheme with Iraq, carried out entirely in euros (Nunan, "Oil"). Soon, Venezuela, the world's fourth-largest oil-exporting nation, started bartering some of its oil to developing nations (including Cuba), thus avoiding the use of the dollar. Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez even went so far as to encourage OPEC to avoid the dollar, which may have prompted the U.S. to play a role in the coup against Chavez in 2002 (Nunan, "Oil"). In June 2003, the Prime Minister of Malaysia publicly encouraged his country's oil and gas

exporters to move from the dollar to the euro (Nunan, "Petrodollar"). Indonesia and Russia have both also begun to consider the switch (Nunan, "Petrodollar"), while both China and North Korea are building euro reserves (VHeadline.com).

Then, of course, there is Iran. Since 1999, Iran has been publicly discussing the possibility of switching its oil exports over to the euro, which may or may not have something to do with its subsequent inclusion in the "Axis of Evil" (Alexander's Gas and Oil"). As of the spring of 2003, Iran switched to the euro for its European and Asian exports, over 30% of its total exports. By June of that year, 60% of Iranian reserve currency was in euros (Shivkumar). A year later, Iran, the second-largest oil-producing country in OPEC, declared its intention of setting up an international oil exchange (a bourse) denominated in the euro currency (Haas). The Iran Oil Bourse is expected to begin its trade in March 2006 and compete against London's International Petroleum Exchange (IPE) and the New York Mercantile Exchange (NYMEX), both owned by American corporations and traded in dollars (Aklich). As such, it should be little surprise that there is a huge discrepancy between how Europe and the U.S. deal with Iran, much like was the case with Iraq. While the EU has been involved in trade negotiations and a dialogue about Iran's nuclear program, the U.S. has taken a much harder line, amidst rumors of yet another invasion.

But as long as Saudi Arabia, the world's leading oil-exporting nation and top dog in OPEC, is allied with the United States, OPEC may remain on the petrodollar standard. In 2002, the former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia spoke to Congress: "One of the major things the Saudis have historically done, in part out of friendship with the United States, is to insist that oil continues to be priced in dollars. Therefore, the U.S. Treasury can print money and buy oil, which is an advantage no other country has" (Islam). According to research by Dr. David Spiro, this "friendship" rests upon the foundations of a secret negotiated deal made by the Nixon administration in 1974. In return for assurances from Saudi Arabia to price oil in dollars only, the Saudis can invest their surplus oil proceeds in U.S. Treasury Bills and the U.S. actively protects the Saudi regime (Clark). Indeed, since that time the U.S. has bent over backwards to support the Saudi royal family, despite its lax policies on human rights and terrorism, including evidence of "allowing potentially hundreds of millions of dollars to flow to Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups," according to classified Congressional documents (Meyer). How long will this unholy alliance last, in the face of growing economic pressure from other OPEC nations?

All of these issues are likely to come to a head in the next few years, as the global oil supply is stretched to its limits by burgeoning demand. Many leading expert geologists and oil industry insiders are now predicting that global oil production will reach its peak within the next five years, if it has not already done so (ASPO). Without a viable, inexpensive alternative fuel to replace oil, a



global economic recession is almost inevitable, as production of oil necessarily declines (PeakOil.org). As a result, competition for the remaining oil reserves may become especially heated, and the need for the U.S. to retain its petrodollar hegemony will become desperate (Rubin). The "War on Terror" may simply be a covert justification for an escalating currency war against Europe.

## CONCLUSION – WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR AMERICANS?

In the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, my generation of Americans has inherited a very frightening and complicated world. Not only is there war, but severe poverty, massive famines, disease pandemics, environmental devastation, global warming, and even genocides lie out there, waiting for us with serpentine eyes. In the face of all these crises, it is much easier to simply turn a blind eye, focus on one's own career and family, and spend the days immersed in the warming glow of mass media and consumerism. However, the hollow techno-bubble that isolates American consumers from the rest of the world, where half the population lives on less than \$2 per day, is dependent upon a tremendous trade advantage for the U.S.; this advantage is by no means permanent or indispensable. The global hegemony of the petrodollar, first established in 1944, showed its first crack when Saddam Hussein changed to the euro in 2000. As a result, the U.S. was impelled to launch a war that has left many thousands dead and many more wounded for life.

Behind a large antiwar movement, critics charge that the war in Iraq may have simply been a resource war to gain control of Iraq's oil fields. However, with the petrodollar's total hegemony, the U.S. effectively controls the world oil supply *already*. Oil cannot be bought or sold without tacit American approval, and if the U.S. wanted to increase or decrease the cost of oil, it could do so by restricting or relaxing the supply of dollars. Therefore, the invasion of Iraq can be viewed as a *defensive* maneuver by U.S. leaders, to protect the global monetary advantage they have come to depend on. However, it may have been only the first skirmish in a *series of interventions*, if other nations, such as Iran or Venezuela, follow Iraq's lead and abandon the dollar. Because of massive American trade deficits, which exceed 5% of the GDP and grow annually, the dollar may already be on the brink of collapse according to the IMF, which in September 2003 announced it was "just a matter of time" (Denny and Elliot).

The United States is a stratified society, separated between haves and have-nots. Complex divisions along lines of race, gender, language, and sexual orientation are incredibly sharp and troublesome in this nation. But if Marx was right, all oppressed peoples have the capacity to be united by common economic threat due to the excesses of capitalist oppression. There is no greater excess than the global hegemony of the petrodollar and its critical relation to oil, war, and terrorism. In the coming decades, amidst the spread of American military interventionism, massive foreign unrest and resistance, declining world oil production, and deepening economic recession, the range of political

possibilities is so wide as to potentially include both fascism and global popular revolution. Will this generation continue to view this reality with apathy and cynicism, procrastinating until the effects of U.S. petrodollar hegemony burst through the window, or finally recognize the current crisis knocking on our door, get up off the couch, and demand that the 21<sup>st</sup> Century not be another century of war, genocide and extreme poverty? One thing is certain, nothing will change without action.

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## BUSINESS IN CHINA

### CONFUCIANISM, GUANXI, AND THE MODERN CHINESE MARKETPLACE

BRADLEY WHITE

Conducting business in China as an outsider is often marked by confusion and discouragement due to differences in business practice (Davies 208). This is widely attributed to the necessity of *guanxi*, a practice deeply rooted in China's Confucian past. Although this may seem to be very similar to the Western business practice of networking, *guanxi* is much more culturally rooted, and contains many more intricacies.

#### ROLE OF CONFUCIANISM

Modern Chinese society is still very much intact with its Confucian history, stressing "scholarship, hard work, perseverance" (Yeung 1), and social order (Hackley 17). It is composed of three main doctrines: *li*, structure; *ren*, gentleness; and *xiao*, loyalty (Hackley 17). Combining these three doctrines produces the main Confucian pursuit of social order, *renlun*. Attaining this human order is considered to be the most important objective in a Confucian society (Hoiman 366-369). The human order is composed of *guanxi*, literally "connections" in the five types of Confucian relationships: emperor and ministers, father and son, husband and wife, one brother and another, and kin and friends. The first four relationships are ascribed, meaning that one does not have a choice in being in this type of relationship. The last, on the other hand, is achieved. It is in these relationships that one is free to choose. To build these connections people often exchange favors and gifts. They also are used by some to increase their well being. (Hoiman 366-369). With the rise of the Communist party and ideology, especially during the Cultural Revolution, the importance of these Confucian relationships began to dwindle. The ideology encouraged equality, and wanted to break some of the most traditional social bonds in

China. However, this had an unexpected consequence. Because of insecurities, people began to increasingly rely on their *guanxi* network (Yeung 58).

### GUANXI: A DEFINITION

What exactly is *guanxi*? It is very difficult to find a perfect translation for this word. Most often it is translated as "connection", "social networking", "special interpersonal relationship", or "personal connection". (Hackley 1) There is a great deal of connotation to *guanxi* making it difficult to translate. It is made up of two different Chinese characters. The first is *guan*, meaning "door, gate, or pass", and the second is *xi*, meaning "department, group, or organization" (Hackley 2). Literally, *guanxi* would be the gate through which one accesses a group.

The most encompassing translation appears to be: "special interpersonal relationship". It includes all the main aspects of *guanxi*, including one essential aspect that the other translations do not include; that *guanxi* is between two people. Essentially, *guanxi* is a personal, not organizational, relationship, based on friendship, "satisfaction, trust", and the exchange of gifts or favors. Generally, the gifts are never equal in value, so one party in the relationship is always indebted to the other. If the gifts were equal, the relationship would have a zero balance, and could possibly end (Fock 3). This relationship is used for various reasons: for personal help, gaining status, or becoming an insider. They are created for the long-term, unlike some business contacts in the West (Su 2).

*Guanxi* has many implications and roles in the Chinese society. Each depends on the parties and settings involved. (Fock 2) In short, *guanxi* is necessary for all parts of life in China, including doing the "smallest things – making a phone call, renting a hotel room, buying a train ticket, eating out, getting a taxi, and so on" (Becker 166-8). It is especially important in securing jobs and housing in contemporary urban China.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF GUANXI

The significance of *guanxi* in everyday life is displayed in a survey conducted by Gordon C. Chui and Yunan Ju, in which they surveyed Chinese from Shanghai and Qingpu. The results show the following:

- 92.4% view *guanxi* as having a major role in their lives
- 84.5% do not trust people until a relationship is built
- 71.7% prefer using their *guanxi* network to solve problems
- Younger people have been firm in relying on *guanxi* in their lives.

(Yeung 58)



This survey illustrates the fact that although China is changing due to globalization, the society continues to place great significance on their traditional Confucian past. As a foreigner ignorant of local customs, such as an American business person who comes to China, this overwhelming use of *guanxi* may be quite discouraging, which is often the case today.

## FUTURE OF THE CHINESE ECONOMY

Many companies look to China as a new, large, untapped market, with a huge potential for future economic growth. According to many economists the future of China's economy is bright, regardless of the current problems. With the population of around 1.2 billion there is a huge supply of labor. (Wong 142). Not only does the large population mean a large supply of labor, but also a very large consumer base. China's population alone makes up one-fifth of the world's consumers. In response to globalization and government reforms, the Chinese people are becoming more open to foreign ideas and ways of life. Also, wealth and standard of living are increasing for many. Other than demographics, the work ethic of the Chinese plays a major role in the future growth of the economy. They are a very detailed, hard working people, and are able to reproduce almost any product for a fraction of the foreign cost. By 2010, China is projected to be the fourth largest economy in the world. These factors make foreign firms extremely interested in the prospect of doing business in China. In order to be successful, however, China has a major task ahead of them, blending *guanxi* and their growing, open market (Gamer 418).

## CHINESE BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

Entering a foreign country as a business person is very difficult, regardless of the country. Often, one will come in contact with different languages, cultures, customs, business laws, and methods of accounting. This provides for a very difficult time doing business. This problem may be more evident in China than any other country. Transcending these, one in China must also establish a *guanxi* network for success. The president of a company, AgriGlobal, which recently entered the Chinese market said "nothing ever happens in China without a relationship" (Murphy 1).

Because of the needed investment in relationships, business people find conducting business in China to be more time consuming than in other countries. Inefficient negotiation practices are often encountered while doing business in China, and are marked by delays, many pre-negotiation contracts, lengthy meetings, incompetent workers, and confusing policy (Davies 1).

Although these are deterrents to doing business in China, the Chinese government has implemented many changes in order to increase the amount of foreign investment and business activities. The controls on the market have

been greatly reduced, customs duties and price controls relaxed, and the restructuring of their departments to allow better flow and efficiency.

"*Tian-shi, di-li, ren-he*", or "right timing, right place, right people" is a Chinese saying concerning achieving business success. *Guanxi* makes up the "right people" portion of this saying (Su 2). Its use in business is very similar to that in the society as a whole. Connecting people to a network of resources, or building *guanxi* is said to be one of the key success factors in conducting business in China.

## **GUANXI IN CHINESE BUSINESS**

There seem to be two different types of business *guanxi* – favor-seeking, and rent-seeking. The first being based in tradition and sharing scarce resources, while rent-seeking *guanxi* focuses on gaining power and looking out for one's personal well-being (Su 2). Rent-seeking *guanxi* appears to be an abuse of the system of *guanxi* in a period of competition and a market economy. It is the favor-seeking *guanxi* that is prevalent throughout the international business environment in China. Unlike Western practices, *guanxi* is a relationship between people, not between institutions. If one party in a *guanxi* relationship leaves his job, the relationship follows him, that is, it does not stay with his former company. Therefore to secure a strong network, organizations attempt to build much *guanxi* between many different employees.

## **BENEFITS AND DOWNFALLS OF GUANXI**

The benefits of *guanxi* in China are numerous. In short, it "improves business efficiency, and is used by the weak and the disadvantaged to protect themselves and to secure business opportunities against competition from outsiders (Fock 5). Many smaller benefits add up to realize this overreaching outcome.

Securing scarce resources is one of these benefits. In the collectivist system, from which China is emerging, doing this is very difficult. Many materials are under the control of various departments within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). "Knowing the right people" helps to secure these hard to get resources. They also help in obtaining other not so scarce resources, such as land, labor, utilities (which can sometimes be cut due to shortages), and licenses (Davies 210-2). This is especially important for start up companies or joint ventures trying to fill out all of the paper work and open up their company. *Guanxi* also enables people to more easily procure payment for services or goods rendered, make arrangements, and smooth the movement of items through the supply chain (Davies 210-2). In the rapidly changing business environment that is China today, one should be aware of what is going on in the government. With the proper *guanxi* one can be informed of the latest policies, and also, most

importantly, increase the efficiency with which the company operates, thus increasing the chances of long-term success.

The Chinese legal system, which is vastly different from that of the West, often poses a problem for Western companies. The Western legal system places a large emphasis on contracts and laws. This is not the case in China, where contracts and rule of law are not always abided by. Some say that in a situation like this, *guanxi* is necessary in order to ensure that agreements will be abided by.

The table below gives a more complete list on the perceived benefits of *guanxi* in China from the perspective of an outsider, in this case a Hong Kong business person. A sample of 150 Hong Kong executives participated in the survey. A 6 is the highest rating, and a 1 is the lowest.

	Mean	Score Rank	% Rating 6	% Rating 1
<b>Sources of Information</b>				
Market Trends	4.14	10	16.0	3.30
Government Policies	4.53	3	24.7	2.00
Import Regulations	4.56	2	27.3	4.70
Business Opportunities	4.51	5	28.7	2.70
<b>Sources of Resources</b>				
Import License Applications	4.38	8	30.0	8.70
Approval of Advertisements	3.02	15	2.00	18.0
Approval of Applications to Provincial	4.47	6	30.0	4.00
Approval of Applications to Cent. Gov.	4.39	7	28.7	6.70
Recruitment of Labor	3.25	14	2.70	14.7
Securing Land for Joint Ventures	3.60	12	12.0	14.0
Securing Electricity for Joint Ventures	3.81	11	20.7	14.0
Securing Raw Materials for J. Ventures	3.45	13	11.3	20.0
<b>Other Areas</b>				
Building Corporate Reputation	4.30	9	22.0	4.00
Smooth Transportation Agreements	4.53	3	24.7	2.00
Smooth Collection of Payment	4.70	1	39.3	4.70

**Table 1: Perceived Benefits of Guanxi**  
(Data Courtesy of Davies, et.al. 211)

While there are many benefits, there are also some downfalls in using *guanxi*. For example, it is difficult for business people to determine who is making the decisions in a Chinese firm. Also, as stated earlier, a great deal of time is spent on building relationships (Fock S). Many people also feel that *guanxi* promotes corruption and bribery. However, a recent study "Is *guanxi* orientation bad, ethically speaking? A study of Chinese enterprises", proved otherwise. It found that within the favor-seeking *guanxi* discussed here, the practice is not unethical, and simply part of the "cultural way of doing business". Corruption is much higher in the rent-seeking *guanxi* and amongst the state owned enterprises.

## IS GUANXI GOOD?

After a comparison of the pros and cons of *guanxi*, it is evident that the process works well. Although it makes doing business more difficult for some, the fact remains that it highlights and preserves the local culture. Forcing the elimination of *guanxi* would have great repercussions, and could possibly further increase business inefficiency in China.

## THE USE OF GUANXI IN BUSINESS

The use of *guanxi* is widespread throughout China, and most other Confucian countries. For example, in Japan, it is known as *kankei*, and as *kwankye* in Korea. However, the amount of importance placed on the practice, regardless of country, changes depending on the situation of the company and individual.

One of the biggest factors playing into the amount of *guanxi* use is the size of the firm. A large firm uses significantly less *guanxi* than a smaller firm would. Due to the size of the business, a larger firm has *guanxi* almost by default. With this size comes de facto significance in a company's respective market (Hutchings 187). The smaller firms, on the other hand, enter a market with no significance based on size. The connections to secure market share, as well as resources, et al. need to be made in order for the company to grow. In addition to this, private firms also need more *guanxi* than do public firms, including joint ventures, state owned enterprises, and cooperatives (Su 6-7).

Other factors in the use of *guanxi* in China are time in profession and education of the individual. People with more experience rely less on *guanxi*, because they have already become an 'insider' in the market. The more educated seem to rely less on *guanxi*, especially if educated in the Chinese language and culture (Su 6-7).

## HOW TO BUILD EFFECTIVE GUANXI

To be effective *guanxi* must maintain two characteristics: *guanxi* with the correct people, or "right *guanxi*" and *guanxi* composed of strong relationships, or "strong *guanxi*". In a survey it was found that people with the right *guanxi* became better off financially. There was no significance between strong *guanxi* and financial success. However, when both of these factors were taken together, significant positive results were obtained, meaning the people were very successful. Therefore one should obtain right and strong *guanxi*. "Consequently, to succeed in China, an investor has to identify the right parties with whom to establish the right connections. Furthermore, these relationships must be nourished and maintained over time" (Yeung 61).

How does one obtain a *guanxi* network that is both right and strong? There are two general ways: group identification and altercasting. Like stated above,

*guanxi* has its roots in Confucianism. The group identification method is based off the five Confucian relationships (see above). Using this method, one identifies with another based on similarities in blood or locality. This includes all kin, and then living in the same village, working in the same work unit, or serving in the same military unit.

The other method of obtaining *guanxi*, altercasting is for those without blood connections or common locality. It involves "rearranging the targeted persons social network in such a way as to involve the individual who wishes to be included in it." (Yeung 61) To achieve this, a mutual friend, or a 'middle man' is used. This role is very important in the *guanxi* network (Yeung 61).

## MAINTAINING *GUANXI*

Building the network is not the most important, it is one's ability to maintain it which is vital. Irene Y.M. Yeung and Rosalie L. Tung relate *guanxi* to "...a gate that can be open or shut, it needs to be propped wide open once opened; otherwise, it can slam shut again." (Yeung 62). Four strategies are used to maintain an effective *guanxi* network (Yeung 61-3).

The first is the exchange of gifts or favors. It is common for business associates to take each other out to fancy dinners, send away on trips, and providing entertainment. This works well in the beginning, while the relationship is still young, but will not make the relationship last forever. Gift giving can be done by almost anyone, and does not make your particular relationship unique.

Another method is to increase the interconnectivity and dependence of the two parties involved. As time progresses the dependence grows, thus making the costs of ending the relationship even greater, for both parties. The third method goes off of the downside of the first, the fact that gift giving is easily duplicated. To counteract this, it is important to build the relationship on a personal level. This includes sharing inner feelings and secrets, much like a good friend.

The fourth method is the most important, the cultivation of trust. To do this one must not cheat their partner, and must be true to their word. Since China is relation based, trust is important in not only *guanxi* but in all aspects of Chinese society (Yeung 61-3).

## CONCLUSION

*Guanxi* has many similarities with relationships and business practices in the West, but also has vital differences. If a study was done on procuring resources, jobs, and many of the benefits found with *guanxi* in the West, one would find

that relationships play a major role, but probably not to the extent that it does in China. There is also no traditional backing to the networking in the West.

The changes occurring in modern China such as globalization, the switch to a market economy, and reliance on rule of law will have notable effects on the system of *guanxi*. No longer will contracts have to be simply safeguarded by relationships. Securing resources, jobs, land, and licenses will be simplified, causing the need for *guanxi* to decrease. The Chinese business environment will become more similar to that of the West. While *guanxi* will not completely disappear, it will lose a great deal of significance. Because of the deeply rooted Confucian background, the Chinese society will continue to place a large emphasis on relationships and trust. *Guanxi* will play a role in the future similar to, but more significant than, the role relationships play in Western business today. Although not required, a *guanxi* network will still be highly beneficial and will facilitate doing business in China.

Understanding and procuring *guanxi* is, and will continue to be, essential to being successful in business in the ever-growing Chinese market. Without this, business people will find operating a business to be very stressful. The apparent costs, inefficiencies, and time spent cultivating a relationship will pay off in the end, in both the foreigner's business success, and their personal life.

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## MORALITY QUESTIONED

### *THE NATO BOMBINGS OF KOSOVO*

SABRINA HARRIS

The NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999 sparked great controversy as to its legal and moral justifications. At the time of the bombings, the organization faced a dilemma between abiding by international law, which prohibited intervention without UN authorization, and stopping human rights violations in Kosovo. Expecting a veto by Russia and China on the question of UN authorization, NATO decided to bypass the UN and proceed with intervention. Such an action brings into question the UN's legitimacy and authority in handling situations like Kosovo in the future.

Unintentionally, NATO might have set a new precedent for humanitarian intervention and transformed the principle of state sovereignty, which was once taken for granted as protection from outside interference in domestic affairs. This essay does not focus on the legal questions surrounding NATO's intervention in Kosovo, but rather on moral questions. Was it morally right for NATO to bomb Kosovo in order to stop human rights violations committed by the Serbian population against the ethnic Albanians? Is the use of force ethical to stop ethnic cleansing?

In an attempt to solve this moral dilemma, I will review both Kantian theory and utilitarianism. Both ethical theories operate within a cosmopolitan framework, one that holds all human beings as valuable and gives an individual more importance than an entire community. However, both theories differ greatly in their approach to moral dilemmas such as the one in question. While Kant is only concerned with the actions one takes (deontological approach), utilitarianism focuses on the outcomes of an action (consequential approach).

After historical review of the conflict and a discussion on both ethical theories, the NATO intervention will be evaluated through the lenses of both Kant and utilitarianism. More importantly, this essay will test the coherence of each theory to find out which one provides us with a more logical and compelling moral argument on how NATO should have reacted when faced with the situation in Kosovo in 1999. This analysis will be conducted in an effort to discover how NATO should have reacted and to answer the question: Was it morally justified to intervene militarily in Yugoslavia and undermine the state's sovereignty?

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE KOSOVO CONFLICT**

To better understand the discussion on the morality of NATO's actions that follows, it is important to be familiar with the history of the conflict itself. Yugoslavia has long had to deal with nationalist movements by several of its ethnic groups. Kosovo, a southern province with a mainly Albanian population, has been a central point of conflict between the Serbs and the Albanians, both of whom claim it as their territory. After World War II, communist leader Tito attempted to balance the different Yugoslav republics and nationalities to ensure that none had precedence over another. He established Kosovo's autonomy and ensured its people expanded political rights.

Tito's death in 1980 was followed by an economic crisis and political unrest. Soon, demands for a republic equal to the other Yugoslav republics gained prominence in Kosovo, an area that even under Tito had remained underrepresented. Tensions between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo grew over the years and, in 1986, the SANU Memorandum (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts) leaked into the public. It claimed that the Serbs living in Kosovo were "subjected to physical, political, legal, and cultural genocide in an open and total war" by the ethnic Albanians (Wikipedia). Following this memorandum, Yugoslavia's leader, Milošević, abolished Kosovo's autonomy, fearing that there would soon be no Serbs left in Kosovo. This change in political status had a huge economic impact on Kosovo and especially on its Albanian population, many of whom had been employed by the state and were now replaced by Serbs. It also opened the door for further Serbian discrimination and oppression.

The Albanians peacefully resisted, organizing a referendum on independence in 1991 with the goal of creating an independent "Republic of Kosovo" with Rugova as the new president. Serbian repression continued, and in 1996, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) carried out several attacks on Serbs to provoke them while trying to boost support for their own organization. These actions resulted in counterattacks from the Serbs: "Yugoslav forces responded with large-scale and frequently indiscriminate military assaults to reverse KLA gains and in 1998 forced more than two hundred thousand Kosovo Albanians to flee their villages" (Wedgwood 829).

Consequently, the so-called "Contact Group"—Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and the United States—attempted to coordinate an international policy on Kosovo, but was unsuccessful in alleviating the growing conflict. A cease fire between Serbian and Albanian forces was finally established, but it did not even last two months. Milošević kept pursuing his goal of the "forceful expulsion of Kosovo Albanians [...] to change permanently the ethnic balance of Kosovo in favor of the Serbs" (Stoessinger 236). In his campaign "Operation Horseshoe," Milošević strategically planned to force Albanians to leave Kosovo. Their property and identification papers would be destroyed to make it impossible for them to ever return, and Serbs would gain the newly deserted territory.

Richard Holbrooke, the same diplomat who had worked with Milošević to ensure his compliance to the Dayton Accords to end the war in Bosnia in 1995, was leading negotiations once again. In October 1998, Milošević and Holbrooke agreed to the deployment of over 1,400 monitors from the Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM). This mission was overseen by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and monitored human rights abuses on both the Serbian and the Albanian side. Later, Holbrooke and the Contact Group presented an agreement to both sides in Rambouillet, France, which "consisted of the deployment of a NATO peacekeeping force in Kosovo, substantial interim autonomy for the province, and a commitment to hold a referendum on its future in three years" (Falk 850). In addition, a military annex stated that "NATO would have the right to operate within all of Yugoslavia to guarantee" the terms of the agreement (Wedgwood 829).

The Albanians ultimately signed, but Milošević refused to agree to those terms, later escalating his terror campaign against the Albanians. He did not take into account how outside states might react to these actions: "What he did not realize was that this decision would harden the West's determination ultimately to stand up to him and to go to war for the freedom of Kosovars" (Stoessinger 238). As a result of Milošević's refusal to make peace, NATO started Operation Allied Force by bombing Kosovo on March 24, 1999. The campaign lasted until June 10<sup>th</sup> of that year, and it sought to achieve an end of "the killing of Yugoslav army and police forces in Kosovo, withdrawal of those forces, the deployment of a NATO-lead international force, the return of all refugees, and a political settlement for Kosovo" (Chinkin 841).

NATO, lead by the United States, expected that a short bombing campaign would force Milošević into making concessions. Instead, he escalated his terror campaign. Albanians were driven out from their villages—their women were raped, their houses burned. At the same time, NATO was attacking Serbian military targets from above. The allied forces also killed Albanians, Serbian civilians, and others in their campaign. For example, around 50 people were killed when NATO hit an Albanian refugee convoy, mistakenly perceived as a Serbian military convoy, as well as three Chinese journalists when bombing the

Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. Even though the conflict continued much longer than expected, President Clinton refused to send in ground troops. In June, Milošević finally gave in and “accepted conditions offered by a Finnish-Russian mediation team and agreed to a military presence within Kosovo headed by the UN, but incorporating NATO troops” (Wikipedia).

After the war ended, most Albanian refugees were able to return to Kosovo quickly and “by November 1999, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 808,913 out of 848,1000 had returned” (Wikipedia). However, at the same time, one can speak of a reversal of events: Kosovo’s Serbian population was reduced by over 75%, and most of the Serbian refugees have been unable to return and have not been given any security guarantees. NATO has also been criticized for the many civilian casualties it caused through the bombings (exact numbers are disputed, but NATO acknowledged to have killed at most 1,500 civilians) while its own forces remained largely unharmed and did not report a single casualty.

Meanwhile, Kosovo became a UN protectorate under the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), while the French Kosovo Force (KFOR) established a safe haven for Serbs in northern Kosovo. In 2001, a grand coalition government between the two main parties was formed: the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), under Rugova, and the Democratic Party of Kosovo, under Thaci.

In March of 2004, tensions exploded as Albanian riots in Kosovo targeted the Serb population and UNMIK. Kosovo remains in unrest while the UN’s goal is to ultimately achieve independence for Kosovo. The road to peace has proven to be full of obstacles. Former Finnish President Marti Ahtisaari was appointed Special UN Envoy to lead Kosovo’s final status talks. He noted that “Kosovo needs to meet international standards such as the ethnic-Albanian government building democratic institutions and guaranteeing minority rights and Serbia encouraging the minority ethnic Serbs to participate in talks” before Kosovo’s independence can be achieved (Bloomberg 1).

The conflict between the two ethnic groups remained unsettled since “ethnic Albanians, who make up 90 percent of Kosovo’s population of 1.9 million people, wanted the province to become independent, while Serbia’s government said it must remain part of Serbia and Montenegro” (Bloomberg 1). No date has been set for the UN mission to end. It remains to be seen if and how soon Kosovo can gain its independence and whether the region will remain peaceful or not.

## **KANTIAN MORAL THEORY AND UTILITARIANISM – AN OVERVIEW**

In order to evaluate the morality of NATO’s actions, this article will consider both Kant’s logic and utilitarianism. Both theories follow a cosmopolitan approach, valuing the individual more than an entire community.

Beyond that approach, they operate very differently. For Kant, it is crucial that an action be consistent with our moral obligations, regardless of the possible outcome. Utilitarianism, on the other hand, holds that the outcome is what counts, no matter how we got there. Analyzing each theory's internal logic will illustrate, in detail, how their different approaches to solving ethical dilemmas are justified.

Kant insists on the existence of a universal moral truth. We can only get to this truth by leaving our personal experiences and desires behind and by returning to our *a priori* capability to reason, a trait that is inherent to every individual. In doing so, we focus on our duties and act accordingly, uninfluenced by our senses. Kant recognizes that acting out of pure reason and duty is an ideal of human behavior. Since perfection cannot always be achieved, we need the categorical imperative to guide human actions.

The categorical imperative consists of two parts. The first demands that one act "only on that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it should become universal law" (qtd. in Tesson: 63). In other words, the action must be such that every individual would want everyone else to act equally in similar situations. Another scholar Rawls expanded Kant's logic and contributed his notion of a "veil of ignorance" that illustrates how one can understand Kant's demand for the universality of their actions. He said that humans should imagine that they are making the rules without knowing who they will be in this new world. Then, everyone would ensure that those worse off would be helped since the decision maker might be that person in the end.

The second part of Kant's categorical imperative requires us to "act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end" (qtd. in Tesson 64). In other words, you should never use people just as a means to an end, but you also need to treat them as having value in and of themselves. This notion stems from Kant's goal of preserving every person's autonomy. Human beings have value in and of themselves, and their freedom and autonomy need to be respected through our actions.

Only those actions which satisfy both parts of the categorical imperative are moral. We therefore need to evaluate each action asking two questions. First, can everyone want that people act this way; in other words, is this action universal? Second, is this action treating individuals not just merely as a means to an end but also as an end in and of themselves; in other words, is the autonomy of the individual preserved? If an action does not fulfill both parts of the categorical imperative, it is morally wrong. Conversely, if an action does satisfy both parts of Kant's categorical imperative, humans are morally obligated to fulfill the action since that is what our reason requires us to do. Indeed, it "is precisely because human beings do not always act out of reason, out of 'pure duty,' that an imperative is necessary" to guide human actions

(Fletcher 538). The categorical imperative is thus a tool that enables us to act purely from reason, fulfilling our duty towards other individuals.

Utilitarianism takes a very different approach in deciding on how to act. While Kant does not look at possible outcomes of an action (since an action is moral if we act out of duty), utilitarianism uses precisely this measure to evaluate behavior. The main question a utilitarian asks is: Does this action enhance general happiness? Utilitarianism "seeks to maximize the enjoyment of a good for the most number of people" (Heinze 86). As a result, it is not as important how one acts, as long as the outcome yields greater well-being or happiness for as many people as possible. This essay will further develop utilitarian logic when applying it to the NATO case in a later section.

## KANTIANISM APPLIED TO THE NATO BOMBINGS

To determine whether and how NATO should have acted in response to the human rights violations in Kosovo, one needs first to understand how both theories approach the topic of humanitarian intervention in general. Humanitarian intervention can be defined as (armed) intervention in another state without the agreement of the target state to address the occurrence or the threat of large-scale violations of human rights in that state. During a humanitarian intervention, individual human rights override state sovereignty, an issue that has always been the source of controversy between those advocating humanitarian intervention and those opposed.

Someone who is familiar with Kant would argue that he would value the individual higher than the state and its sovereignty. However, Kant's theory has been accused of displaying an unjustifiable attachment to the state (and therefore to sovereignty) despite the emphasis on the individual as the ultimate unit of value, because Kant agrees to keep our current state system while advocating a cosmopolitan view of the world. This seeming contradiction within Kant's logic has been successfully addressed by Tesson, who wrote that for Kant, "respect for states is merely derivative of respect for persons," and "sovereignty of the state is [therefore] dependent upon the state's domestic legitimacy" (Tesson 54). Kant believed that states should be respected as long as they preserve the freedom of the individual, not because they have moral value in and of themselves. States, then, have an obligation to care for their own citizens and to preserve their autonomy. Carrying out this obligation gives the state legitimacy preserves its right to sovereignty.

Although Kant advocated respect for state sovereignty, he made it dependent on state legitimacy, which in turn is determined by the state's commitment to guaranteeing human rights for its population. For Kant, individual freedom within each state was necessary to ensure lasting international peace, which was his goal. According to Kant, "human rights are not privileges graciously granted by individuals in power, [...] they are

constitutive of the international definition of a legitimate nation-state" (Téson 83).

The question then becomes whether states can be allowed to use force against non-legitimate states as a last resort when human rights are violated. At first, it seems as if Kant would disagree since his goal is to establish a lasting international peace. In his major work *Perpetual Peace*, Kant wrote that "no nation shall forcibly interfere with the constitution and government of another" (qtd. in Téson 91). How can this view possibly be reconciled with Kant's universalistic approach to morality and his insistence on liberal states that guarantee human rights?

This apparent inconsistency within Kantian theory is best explained through a review of Kant's works on state legitimacy. According to him, a state gains respect for its sovereignty by being internally legitimate. Nonintervention is therefore dependent on whether a state is regarded as a sovereign or not, a status that requires adherence to human rights standards. Thus, the "question of internal legitimacy must be resolved prior to the question of nonintervention [and] sovereignty is to be respected only when it is justly exercised" (Téson 92). It follows that there might exist cases where liberal democracies find themselves morally obliged to intervene to halt human rights abuses in another non-liberal state. Consequently, there is no incoherence in Kantian logic on the issue of state sovereignty versus international intervention.

Having resolved this apparent contradiction within Kantian thought, it becomes clear that Yugoslavia had in fact undermined its sovereignty through the human rights violations against its Albanian population. Because of the brutal measures (such as the burning of entire Albanian villages, raping of women, etc.) taken by Milošević and those working for him, the state of Yugoslavia had lost its legitimacy. Other states were therefore no longer required to respect its sovereignty and able to consider humanitarian intervention in Kosovo.

Next, one must apply Kant's categorical imperative to the NATO intervention to examine the morality of the bombings of Kosovo. One must first answer whether everyone could want this behavior to become the universal maxim for people's actions. In order to answer this question, it is useful to put oneself into the situation of each participating side and to attempt to make sure that those who were worse off were being helped. The Albanian population of Kosovo was, in this case, the group that was worse off during the Serb's the campaign for ethnic cleansing. They would understandably support NATO's bombing of Serbian targets, hoping that it would ameliorate their situation.

But what about the Serbs and the NATO forces that were sent over to execute the bombings? How could the Serbs, who were targeted by the bombs, support such actions? Is there an inconsistency in Kant's theory which makes it

impossible for us to obtain a clear answer to our question about the ability to universalize the bombings? I am arguing that there is not, because Kant wants us to ask if people would support certain behaviors if they were in morally similar conditions. In other words, if the ethnic cleansing was reversed, would Serbs support NATO bombings of Albanians or if populations of NATO member states were experiencing human rights violations, would they want other states to intervene? The answer would be 'yes' since these groups would then be in a situation similar to the Albanians, who would support these actions.

From the first part of the categorical imperative, it seems as if there was an obligation for international forces to intervene. However, one needs to answer the second part of the categorical imperative to determine if NATO's actions were actually moral: were people on both sides treated not merely as a means to an end, but also as an end in and of themselves? In other words, was everyone's freedom and autonomy preserved? Looking at the NATO forces themselves, there were no casualties expected since the operation consisted only of air strikes. Therefore, the NATO forces were treated as having value and they retained their autonomy.

What about the Serbs who were targeted by the bombings? Was NATO allowed to kill Serbian combatants because of their status as combatants? Serbians who were attacked by NATO were treated as a means to an end, and their autonomy was clearly not preserved. The question remains, however, if Kant would still morally justify NATO's bombings since these were combatants who had given up their basic human rights. Using Kantian logic, one needs to not only consider the obligation of outside states to help Albanians in Kosovo, but also their obligation towards their own citizens.

Could one justify the bombings based on NATO's obligation to its own citizens in protecting them from possible spill-over effects of the on-going conflicts in Yugoslavia? There have been credible fears that continuing outflows of Albanian refugees moving into Macedonia, a young democracy, would endanger peace and security for the entire region. Macedonia itself is of course not a NATO member, but it is expected to grow closer to Europe. There were also debates about whether spill-over effects would have a direct impact on Europe as well.

But what about the fact that the NATO mission was lead by the United States, a country that would certainly not be affected in any way by an on-going conflict in the region around Yugoslavia? The U.S. did not have to bomb Kosovo to protect the security and freedom of its own citizens. One could argue, however, that U.S. leadership was needed by the Europeans in order to execute the bombings. Did the U.S. then have an obligation to help the Europeans since spill-over effects from Yugoslavia to Europe could destabilize Europe and ultimately have effects on U.S. security? This argument does not



seem to be a solid one and would certainly not be supported by Kant as a justification to bomb Serbian combatants.

There is definitely a tension within Kantian logic that is not easily resolved. Can combatants be killed to help a state fulfill its obligations to its own citizens and to others? Even though Kant makes sovereignty dependent on a state's internal legitimacy, which allows other states to intervene if a state undermines its own sovereignty, it does not follow from Kantian logic that we are thus allowed to bomb combatants of the illegitimate state. From a Kantian perspective, it does not seem to be possible to justify the bombing of Serbian combatants since it would destroy their autonomy and not treat them as valuable human beings.

Overall, the NATO bombings of Kosovo thus fail to satisfy the categorical imperative since Serbian combatants were being targeted, which cannot be morally justified through Kantian logic. However, this conclusion does not mean that there was no obligation of other states to intervene in order to stop the genocide in Kosovo. Because Yugoslavia had lost its legitimacy and other states no longer were required to respect its sovereignty in light of the ethnic cleansing campaigns, the door for moral humanitarian intervention was open. Working through Kant's moral theory, it also becomes obvious that everyone would welcome outside assistance when exposed to ethnic cleansing. What cannot be justified through Kantian logic, then, is the means used by NATO in its campaign. The bombing of Serbian combatants is not moral according to Kant since it does not preserve their autonomy. Even though Yugoslavia was no longer considered a sovereign state, other states did not have the right to bomb the area, even if it was meant to protect Albanians and avoid spill-over effects. Kant would have argued in favor of using a different strategy to address the human rights violations, such as continued diplomatic efforts. Further measures will be discussed later in the essay when I discuss a possible policy for resolving the conflict.

## UTILITARIANISM AND THE NATO BOMBINGS

As mentioned earlier, the utilitarian guideline for our actions should be the degree to which we enhance happiness for the greatest number of people. From a utilitarian perspective, "interventions, or rules concerning intervention, are right in proportion as they reduce suffering of all concerned" (Stein 30). In deciding whether to intervene militarily, a utilitarian would try to determine whether human rights enjoyment would be maximized through such an action or not.

One of the merits of this approach is that it does permit the use of force if human rights violations are so severe that military intervention would enhance human rights enjoyment of a greater number of people. The other side of this argument is that utilitarianism prohibits humanitarian intervention in response to

"less severe human rights violations, even though these more moderate acts are violating internationally-recognized human rights" (Heinze 86). In other words, for a utilitarian, "tolerance of mild repression is preferable to the foreseeable deaths of innocent civilians in a humanitarian war" (Heinze 86). Although this principle of proportionality seems moral, I argue that it is not unique to a utilitarian approach. Kant's categorical imperative asks if everyone would want such an action if they found themselves in a similar situation, and such considerations may very well include the principle of proportionality. However, Kant is much stricter on the use of force since our actions must also preserve the autonomy of each individual.

The situation in 1999 seems to have allowed for NATO's bombings since they promised to halt the wide-spread human rights violations carried out by the Serbs. At the time, people were convinced that after a few days of attacking Serbian military targets, Milošević would give in and Kosovo would gain its independence. It looked as if a low cost military action would make lives better for a large number of people. After the bombings, Serbian repression ended and the many Albanian refugees were able to return to their villages. There was promise for more stability as Milošević was no longer in power, and the region would finally be able to reestablish itself.

However, the main question of whether this military intervention in fact improved people's lives remains unanswered when one reviews the long term effects. Even though the ongoing genocide was stopped when NATO's bombings ended, it is still unclear if overall human welfare has been enhanced through NATO's actions when examining Kosovo's future prospects. Utilitarianism asks people to evaluate an action based on its consequences, but does not tell us how long into the future one is supposed to look.

Historically, ethnic conflicts are not easily resolved and never actually disappear. More than six years after the NATO bombings, Kosovo is still struggling to gain independence while large numbers of Serbs have now been driven out of the region. There have been quite a few incidences of Albanian aggression against Serbs within Kosovo. One might ask if NATO's support for the Albanians actually resulted in what could become reverse ethnic cleansing since Albanians now feel supported in their claim to the land.

Focusing only on the short term results of military actions can be deceiving, as Laurie Calhoun pointed out:

the shorter the length of time, the easier an action becomes to justify [and] because the effects of waging war ramify in many directions and far into the future, sound (as opposed to specious) utilitarian projections regarding prospective military action must take the

form of an integral of consequences over time.  
(Calhoun 96)

It is unclear even today whether NATO's actions will have made peace in the region possible. One could very well imagine another breakdown, this time accompanied by ethnic cleansing by the Albanians.

Some people, like Calhoun, argue that waging war to establish peace will never work since it

generates new victims, [...] military killing provides a negative role model, [...] military missions lead to the proliferation and dissemination of weapons across national borders, [...] and] deadly killing perpetuates a 'culture of killing', [which] impedes progress towards alternatives to wielding deadly force. (Calhoun 106)

Most utilitarians do not even look as far ahead into the future but instead focus on the immediate effects of an action. This approach, however, seems to be inconsistent with the main goal of utilitarians to bring about positive consequences. What good is an action if it only improves people's well-being in the short term and could cause even more harm in the long term?

It seems impossible to determine whether the NATO bombings improved overall wellbeing since the results "depend entirely upon the length of time over which one projects consequences" (Calhoun 106). If one only looks at the immediate effects, it seems as though NATO acted morally in bombing Kosovo since Albanians were able to enjoy once again their basic human rights. However, as soon as we stretch the time period under consideration, the answer becomes more and more ambiguous. What about the Serbs who are now being driven out of the province? Or the violence that is still going on? What if the situation will become even worse further down the line? It is very well possible that ten or twenty years from now, more Serbs will have suffered in the aftermath of the bombings than Albanians leading up to the intervention.

## KANTIANISM VS. UTILITARIANISM

Having resolved the tensions within Kantian logic, his moral theory turns out to be a coherent framework for determining the morality of NATO's actions. Gaining a clear answer from Kant has proved to be a process full of obstacles, but once they are overcome, he does provide us with a straight answer: Kant would not have approved of the NATO bombings, but he would have argued that outside states did have an obligation to act in some other way.

According to Kant, it is important that individuals, as well as states, act out of duty, out of their moral obligation to help others. Critics of Kant or

deontologist approaches in general have argued that this way of thinking rules out too many interventions since interventions are rarely triggered by purely humanitarian motives. While it might be true that deontological approaches to moral dilemmas condemn military interventions more frequently than consequentialist ones, it does not seem to be clear that Kant would require interventions to be purely humanitarian. Interventions have to be motivated primarily by humanitarian considerations in order to pass the categorical imperative, but it is not necessary that these be the only motives for the intervening state. While Kant would prefer purely humanitarian interventions, he recognizes that this is an ideal, and he consequently provides us with the categorical imperative in order to bring us closer to that moral ideal.

Another critique of the deontological position is that intervening states are inconsistent and hypocritical since they are not regarding gross human rights violations in all regions as having equal value. This critique, however, is merely based on empirical facts, not on the morality of the theory itself. Kant only says that in certain cases, states might have an obligation to intervene. If it becomes clear that the states have this obligation, but they do not live up to it, Kant would judge this lack of action as problematic and immoral. He does not claim that states are intervening everywhere they should and refraining from intervention where they should not, but he gave the tools to decide when intervention is moral. Kant does give equal value to each region with human rights violations, but whether those who are obligated to act live up to the task is an empirical question.

Utilitarianism, on the other hand, does not require humanitarian motives to even be present as long as there are human rights violations within a state. This approach "opens up the door for aggression disguised as humanitarian intervention" (Reinze 87). Utilitarianism, therefore, does not give enough value to the individual and his or her human rights. It is morally reprehensible for states to intervene for self-interested reasons if that action would not have been undertaken out of a concern about human rights violations. In other words, while it is not necessary for a state to be motivated *only* by humanitarian concerns, acting primarily out of national self-interest is morally questionable. This is the case when there are situations in which a state would not have intervened based on human rights violations, but only to expand its influence in a particular region. Who would argue that such aggressive behavior is moral?

Utilitarians might respond by saying that such an action would be moral as long as it results in greater enjoyment of human rights and therefore enhances overall wellbeing. However, as we have seen earlier, it is almost impossible to know what the consequence of an action will be, and a decision depends on which time frame is being considered. Looking only at the near future, more actions would be judged moral than could be justified in the end. As Calhoun suggested, it is problematic to only consider the immediate aftermath of an intervention. By considering the long term results, one is likely to condemn

many more actions for being immoral since the results are often dubious, especially surrounding ethnic conflicts.

One could argue that it cannot be moral to produce disastrous outcomes, even if the action itself was judged to be moral. Kant argued that an action deserves merit (i.e. is moral) if it is performed out of duty, no matter what the consequences might be. Julia Driver disagrees, insisting that we cannot be free from moral judgment stemming from the outcome of an action: "If we do view intervention as a duty, then, if anything, the burden seems greater since what [we initially were] obligated to bring about, was not in fact brought about" (Driver 856). However, from a Kantian perspective, if that action is not successful, it presents one with a new dilemma to be resolved, and therefore, one may have yet another obligation to act upon the new situation. It is incorrect to assume that Kant stops right after establishing the morality of an initial action. New outcomes might require a second set of actions.

Indeed, one of the merits of the Kantian approach is that it focuses on the present, meaning future predictions are not necessary. One gets a much more consistent picture on how to act morally. His principles hold greater moral value since the individual and his or her human rights are put first by concentrating on the morality of one's actions rather than the outcome. Since outcome of an action is often unknown, it is more logical to consider the morality of our actions first. If Calhoun is correct in saying that wars like the one fought in Yugoslavia will have negative outcomes long term, then Kant's approach offers a more moral way of thinking. Most utilitarians would not consider the long-term future and, therefore, would allow the NATO bombings based on their short-term successes.

## DEVELOPING AN ETHICAL POLICY POSITION FOR NATO

We have now established that it was immoral for NATO to bomb Kosovo, but that there was an obligation to act in some way to help the Albanians, whose fundamental human rights were being undermined. What actions should have been taken by NATO instead? To answer this question, this essay will examine the diplomatic measures that were taken prior to the bombings. As described earlier, there had been efforts made before the bombings by Western diplomats to resolve the conflict through peaceful means. However, NATO had not nearly exhausted all possibilities for a diplomatic solution to genocide when it decided to attack from the air. Additionally, the diplomatic measures that had been taken were quite unreasonable, preventing bilateral acceptance.

In 1998, the government of Belgrade had made considerable concessions when they allowed the deployment of the Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM), who reported human rights abuses on both sides. As Michael Barutciski said, "it is difficult to imagine many countries allowing foreign involvement over such an internal issue" (Barutciski 9). NATO was also allowed to conduct aerial

surveillance, and UN convoys had permission to distribute emergency aid to rural families. In addition, "by early 1999, Yugoslav politicians had publicly accepted that the Albanians were going to govern themselves with minimal interference from Belgrade" (Barutciski 9). This development illustrates that Yugoslavia was willing to give Kosovo more autonomy. The Albanians, on the other hand, insisted on their demands for independence and did not indicate any willingness to make concessions on that issue.

When the Rambouillet agreement was offered to both sides, Albanians and Serbs initially refused to sign. It must have been obvious to the Western diplomats that Serbs would not be willing to allow a NATO military presence, not just in Kosovo, but in all of Yugoslavia as part of the agreement. In addition, it is not clear why this would have been necessary to secure peace. If Kosovo was given internal autonomy, as the agreement required, then the Serbian security forces would have had to withdraw, which would decrease any threats to the Albanian population and could make the deployment of NATO military personnel unnecessary. And why did it have to be NATO military forces rather than any other forms of international presence, such as an expansion of the KVM, which Belgrade had already accepted?

The Albanians initially refused to sign the Rambouillet agreement since it still did not guarantee independence, but they ultimately gave in, hoping that the referendum, which was to be held three years later, would establish their independence. This was, of course, another aspect of the agreement that was opposed by Belgrade. Interestingly, NATO dropped both the insistence on a military presence in all of Yugoslavia and the referendum on Kosovo's independence in the settlement after the bombings. One must ask if forceful measures could have been avoided if NATO had offered a more flexible settlement to both parties instead of the "take it or leave it" proposal of Rambouillet.

As illustrated earlier, Kant would have insisted on further actions to be taken to halt the gross human rights violations in Kosovo. The bombings were not the appropriate measure to be taken in the spring of 1999, when Belgrade had already allowed an international presence in the form of the KVM. As Richard Falk stated, "Genocidal behavior cannot be shielded by claims of sovereignty, but neither can these claims be overridden by unauthorized uses of force delivered in an excessive and inappropriate manner" (Falk 848). He continues: "alternative lines of action [have been] available and by far preferable on humanitarian grounds to a high-altitude bombing campaign" (Falk 851). For example, NATO could have tried to expand the role of the KVM to enable them to secure Kosovo's autonomy without having to resort to force. Economic sanctions could also have been employed, as long as they did not harm the autonomy of the population and treat them as having value in and of themselves rather than simply as a means to an end.

It is impossible to say whether further diplomatic measures would indeed have secured peace in the region, but "the failure to attempt it casts a dark shadow across the NATO initiative" (Falk 855). NATO was obligated to expand upon its diplomatic efforts in order to avoid a military intervention. Additionally, its tactics, which included inflicting serious damage on civilian targets later in the campaign to make Belgrade submit without conditions, shed a dubious light onto its humanitarian intentions. NATO successfully minimized the casualties within its own ranks to zero while killing Serbian combatants and civilians on both sides, whose autonomy was thereby undermined.

A conflict that is based on tensions between different ethnic groups can never be easily resolved, and it rarely disappears completely. It is therefore questionable whether the goal of independence for Kosovo is even the best solution. Increased autonomy might secure peace in the region as long as Albanians have better prospects for their lives in a more stable environment. NATO should have tried to achieve these more flexible goals through diplomatic measures rather than insisting on its own military presence and independence. What if further diplomatic efforts would not yield the expected results? Kant would allow NATO to step up its measures, but only in so far as both parts of the categorical imperative are still satisfied. One needs to be extremely careful in employing force to resolve conflicts, because it is rarely moral to do so. NATO would have been obligated to increase the pressure on Belgrade as well as the Albanians to come to an agreement, but a military attack was not the moral way to solve the conflict.

Would the employment of ground forces have been moral? Following Kantian logic, it is difficult to justify such use of force. However, Kant's answer would depend on how such an operation would have been conducted. Referring back to the categorical imperative, one can see that this would be a universalizable action since anyone in the situation of the Albanians would want troops to come in to protect their human rights. The second question, regarding the preservation of the autonomy of people, is the more difficult one to answer. If the NATO ground forces operate in a very careful manner, only targeting Serbian military installations rather than Serbian forces, such an action could be permissible. Striking from the air, as NATO did in 1999, it was almost impossible to execute precise attacks without harming Serbian combatants. At the same time, NATO forces would need to act in a way to preserve their own autonomy as best as possible. A military operation different from the NATO bombings could therefore, in certain circumstances, be moral according to Kant. However, such cases are rare, and these operations would need to follow very strict guidelines of behavior that go beyond the scope of this discussion.

Overall, Kant would say that NATO had an obligation to act in order to halt the ongoing genocide in Kosovo. Yugoslavia had undermined its sovereignty through its crimes committed against the Albanians, which allowed outside actors to intervene. The bombings, however, were immoral and should

be condemned. Instead, NATO should have attempted further diplomatic measures in a more flexible manner, applying more pressure on Belgrade rather than resorting to the use of force. This would have been a more ethical approach to the dilemma since it would have put an emphasis on the value of each human being, as established through universal human rights. We cannot ever know for sure what the long-term consequences of an action would be, but we can make sure that our actions themselves are moral and respect everyone's autonomy.



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## APPROPRIATING THE INAPPROPRIATE

### MADONNA AND THE CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF AN ICON

STANISLAV TSANEV

I tried to be a boy,  
I tried to be a girl  
I tried to be a mess,  
I tried to be the best  
I tried to find a friend,  
I tried to stay ahead  
I tried to stay on top...  
"American Life", Madonna

Throughout her career, Madonna has changed her image many times, remaining consistent only in her plasticity of expression and representational politics of appropriation. Using fragments of American culture, Madonna has become an established—and continually reestablished—cultural icon. She is situated in a complex postmodern capitalist culture in which there is no single, universal experience; rather, there is an intersecction of gender, race, sexuality, and class that determines the individual experiences of the subject (Schwichtenberg 130; Collins 6; hooks 4; Hale 120-21). Therefore, all of these aspects of identity should be simultaneously considered in relation to each other when discussing both Madonna's image and her audience's interpretations (Schulze, White and Brown 23; Nakayama and Peñaloza 51-52).

The evolution of Madonna's transient identity reflects her fragmentary interaction with culture. In one form or another, she has appropriated certain signifiers<sup>1</sup> of feminist, queer, African-American, and Latino/a subcultures to construct her own identity. This act has resulted in a complex interaction

between her and the corresponding subcultures in which Madonna is both a subject—she actively seeks the interaction to achieve a certain result—and an object—she is consumed by the culture.

In all of her appropriations, Madonna uses already established signifiers, reinforcing existing hegemonies rather than counteracting them (O'Brien Hallstein 129; Brady; Thrift). Furthermore, because she only uses certain signifiers, frequently juxtaposing them, Madonna presents a fragmentary image of a particular culture, a kind of cultural caricature, which is not necessarily accurate. Her selection of signifiers to represent a culture gives her control over that culture and enables her construction as an icon, a process that gives her the status of an immediately recognizable figure in pop culture and invalidates any preexisting assumptions on the counter-hegemonic nature of Madonna's work (such as that speculated by Gaugler).

Madonna's image is eclectic not only because of the complex identity it represents, but also because of the way this representation is created. Songs, videos, lyrics, and movies all converge to generate her image. Madonna, however, is best known as a singer because her music videos are the part of her work that is most accessible to assorted audiences. In fact, music videos were developed with the intent to promote the consumption of artists by reaching large audiences in an inexpensive and non-engaging way, unlike movies and books, which require bigger financial investments and deliberate seeking (Andsager and Roe 79). Therefore, Madonna's music videos and lyrics are essentially the medium for her representation.

## MADONNA AND FEMINISM

"It makes no difference.../If you're a boy or a girl"

*Vogue*

Madonna has been the object of much feminist debate in which conflicting notions about her role as a (non-)feminist have been articulated (Brady, O'Brien Hallstein, Freccero, Curry, Schwitchenberg, Gaugler, among others). Madonna is constantly changing her position within the debate, and her feminist image is further complicated by the (sometimes) conflicting statements that she herself has made in her music videos, song lyrics, books, and interviews.

Perhaps this ambiguity in the interpretations of Madonna's position results from the many different forms that feminism takes. As bell hooks comments, "[a] central problem with feminist discourse has been [the feminists'] inability to either arrive at a consensus of opinion about what feminism is or accept definitions that could serve as starting points of... unification [of feminists]" (18). One certain (albeit too general) aspect of unification is the challenging of gender roles.

Madonna portrays genders—both feminine and masculine—in different ways in her videos. When traced chronologically through her videos, the representations of Madonna as feminine and her interaction with the masculine (as constructed by her) reveal a movement toward the establishment of specific politics in relation to both the masculine (as an Other<sup>ii</sup>) and the feminine (as the Self).

In the very beginning of her career, with the *Borderline*, *Lucky Star* and *Like a Virgin* videos, Madonna centers her feminine image on the image of a girl of the street. She wears revealing clothing and cheap plastic imitations of jewelry, and her short blond hair looks unkempt (O'Brien Hallstein 128). These visual aspects of her appearance are signifiers for a working or lower-middle class girl, and the "street" image is further intensified by signifiers in the setting of the videos. Even though *Lucky Star* takes place in an unidentifiable, empty space, and *Like a Virgin* in the channels of Venice, Madonna is exposed and not constrained within a building, and therefore these spaces are equivalent to the street (O'Brien Hallstein 128).

In her next two videos, *Papa Don't Preach* and *Material Girl*, Madonna moves toward a different class and gender establishment. The focus is shifted to a wealthier ambience and a focus on materialism; the financial status becomes increasingly important, even determining (O'Brien Hallstein 131, Brady 73-96). In *Papa Don't Preach*, the narrative is situated in the context of a suburban family, but Madonna remains a vulnerable teenage girl dependent on the masculine (represented by the father and the boyfriend). In *Material Girl*, Madonna's character, as evidenced by the conversation in the video, is a poor wannabe star who imitates Marilyn Monroe by copying her appearance and wearing an exact replica of the dress Monroe wears in *Gentlemen Prefer Blonds*. In the complicated multiple frame in the narrative of the video, the events take place inside, in an upper-class theatre, yet Madonna's jewelry remains far less glamorous than the original diamonds that Marilyn Monroe uses. Even though Madonna still uses signifiers of the lower class to present herself, an aspiration to break away from that image and move to a wealthier status is visible during this transitional state of her videos' development (O'Brien Hallstein 131).

After the *Papa Don't Preach* video, Madonna's status is no longer that of the working or middle class. The progress of her career and the establishment of her stardom have resulted in a transition toward an upper-class positioning in her music videos. Clothes, exotic locations, and cars are all signifiers of this. Such movement away from the oppressed and toward the privileged makes her feminism elitist and benefiting only those who already enjoy a dominant status.

Madonna conforms to traditional gender roles which function within a patriarchal ideology and are further confined to the heterosexual familial norm. She is a daughter in *Papa Don't Preach* and a mother/provider in *Material Girl*.<sup>iii</sup> In *Like a Virgin*, her roles are that of the virgin and that of the whore

(O'Brien Hallstein 129). These roles are typical, although oppositional, expectations for the heterosexual white female as an object of masculine desire. In the first case, the desire has not yet been materialized; in the second, the object is completely absorbed and characterized by the materialization of that desire. The dichotomy of the two roles exists within a patriarchal hegemony", and, despite the movement between complete opposites, Madonna's femininity remains restricted to that system of patriarchal gender roles (O'Toole and Schiffman).

One aspect in Madonna's videos that remains constant throughout her work is the control of the masculine. One way in which this control is exercised is through the removal of the masculine characters in the videos from the center of attention. This removal effectively marginalizes the masculine and normalizes the feminine—Madonna is the central object of visual attention, and the narratives of the videos revolve around her. This strategy is strongly implemented in *Lucky Star* when the two male dancers serve as background for Madonna's dancing and are almost invisible.

The focus of attention on Madonna's performances makes her an object for the (male) audience's desire. This objectification, however, is an indicator of a certain type of postmodern feminist politics in which she chooses to be an object for the desire and has control over it through her constant gaze at the viewer (or the camera). Under such conditions, it is ultimately the woman who is in the controlling position, because her exhibitionistic pleasure is equal to, or greater than, the voyeuristic pleasure of the spectator. She is the one that has made the choice to expose herself. Furthermore, the gaze at the viewer indicates a desire to dominate and control and makes the exposure the result of a deliberate seeking rather than a consequence of external pressures (Schwichtenberg).

It therefore seems plausible that Madonna, under these operational assumptions, reverses the gender roles, placing the feminine in the controlling position and dominating the masculine. The reversal, though liberating to her, is exactly that: a reversal. Madonna does not in any way counteract the patriarchal hegemonic strictures or create a notion of equality between the genders. Rather, she creates what bell hooks calls "another man" in which gender roles may be reversed, but norms of subordination are reinforced (hooks 8, 89). Combined with her transition to upper class, Madonna's contribution as a feminist is further diminished by being elitist and generally inaccessible to those whose position requires the destruction of the hegemony the most (viz. poor, working-class women).

Madonna's gender play is not limited to the reversal of roles. It is additionally reinforced by blurring the boundaries between the genders. The masculine is effeminated, and the feminine is emasculated. An example of this are the conic braziers that the male dancers use in the *Like a Virgin* performance in her Blond Ambition Tour, which are signifiers of femininity, but also phallic

and thus masculine. Madonna herself often uses masculine or quasi-masculine attire in her videos, like the parodist parade uniform in *American Life*, which presupposes a masculine role, but is yet counteracted by Madonna's feminine dance and seductive look. The gender blurring is strongest in the *Erotica* video in which neither Madonna nor her many partners seem to have one definite gender, but rather are located around the border between the binary gender constructs and frequently transgress it. As her lyrics suggest: "It doesn't matter... if you're a boy or a girl" (*Vogue*) and "I tried to be a boy/I tried to be girl" (*American Life*). When it comes to such borderline positioning, feminism is doomed to failure because it ironically relies on the very dichotomy that it seeks to deconstruct (Hale). Instead, feminism is replaced by examining of what Jardine refers to as "the queer" (qtd. in Thrift).

## THE QUEER MADONNA

"Strike a pose/There's nothing to it"  
*Vogue*

Madonna's interaction with the gay and queer subcultures is as complicated as her feminist status because it is bidirectional. She has appropriated and used certain aspects of these subcultures in her videos and has also attained the status of a gay icon. Despite the many controversies that her alleged bisexuality has provoked, Madonna has refused to identify herself as bisexual, heterosexual, or homosexual. This makes her queer in that she resists any stable classification and instead freely navigates between the existing structures (Thrift).

Madonna openly demonstrates rejection of the heteronormative constructions of Western culture and, in effect, successfully manages to deconstruct them. The main focus of her *Justify My Love* video seems to be on a heterosexual sexual act. Yet the context is so enriched by gender play that the attention is shifted to the background in which an all-male Sadoomasochistic interaction takes place. The male characters in the video are rather effeminate: some of them wear heavy "drag" makeup; a couple draw fake moustaches on each other's face in a desperate search for masculinity, an act which only shows its lack. Madonna's partner himself is made up and not fitting the masculine expectations of the binary gender system. This representation of the male as gay outlines Madonna's representational politics of others as gay, and closely resembles the politics and practices of some gay cultures, the double separation from the heterosexual masculine and the heterosexual feminine. On the one hand, they are not masculine because they are not heterosexual, a necessary requirement for masculinity. On the other hand, they are not feminine, because they are not female (Patton 88). This tactic is sometimes suppressed, but when it is not, it is overplayed (87). The resulting fluidity, which Madonna achieves through this appropriation, further expands her possibilities for manipulation of the hegemonic establishments and ultimately contributes for her iconic status.

Madonna is free to select only desirable signifiers and use them, presenting fragments of the constituted reality.

In *Vogue*, for example, Madonna both relies on established signifiers and creates new ones. As the title of the song and the video suggests, fashion in its extremes is the marker through which the subjects of Madonna's queer creating are distinguished from the normative masculine. The bodies of the dancers merge with the suits they are wearing, which in turn become part of the dance and thus the center of attention. It is these bodies which become the playground for the gender identities and sexual desires (Butler 135). This generates a new signifier, namely the dance, which then starts to function outside the limitations of the video through what it has come to signify within the video: it is accepted by certain gay subcultures as a way to indicate their status as gay (McBride 86).

In the same song, Madonna enumerates a list of celebrities that are in some way connected to some gay subcultures. For example, Marilyn Monroe and Marlene Dietrich are gay icons, while perhaps the only reason Joe DiMaggio is mentioned is because he is married to Marilyn Monroe". This again is an appropriation of gay culture, in which Madonna even speaks for gays, saying, "We love you" (emphasis added) and thus includes herself in that subculture without the prior permission of its members, but at the same time serves to give credibility to Madonna's position within it and thus further helps her establishment as a gay icon.

In relation to her queer politics, however, Madonna is selective in what to appropriate and how to portray it. For instance, she exclusively focuses on gay men, ignoring the lesbian experience completely. In the occasions where she has erotic or quasi-sexual interactions with women, like in *Erotica*, the representations are not immediately recognizable as lesbian; rather, even though they involve female-to-female interaction, they are mostly Sadoomasochistic and are more sexual than political. They do not pay the same attention to the body as a site for identity expression for lesbianism as the gay male representations do for male homosexuality. Therefore, Madonna's representation is not accurate because of its exclusivity and it only serves her own self-empowerment because, through adopting representative functions, she gains control over gay culture.

Despite the negation of heteronormativity, the corresponding praxis remains ineffective to a large degree. The incomplete portrayal of queerness creates a fragmentary image and indicates selective appropriation of queer culture. The selection remains restricted within the cultural constructions of sexuality.



"It makes no difference if you're black or white"

*Vogue*

Madonna's discourse of race has a rather complicated form and consists of two modes; Madonna's direct appropriation of perceived cultural elements of African-, Caribbean-, and Hispanic Americans and the response of the different audience interpretations of Madonna's videos.

Black sexuality is the determinant in the Black<sup>2</sup> politics dominated by a White-centered ideology (Collins 25). Even though the specific expression of the Black sexual stereotypes has changed over time, the stereotypes themselves have remained constant and are based on the idea that Black sexuality is excessive, uncontrollable, uncivilized, and wild. Both the Black male and the Black female sexualities are viewed as deviant from the normative White sexuality and are ascribed roles within the formed hegemony.

It is difficult to completely evaluate the degree to which Black culture has influenced Madonna. As Patricia Hill Collins observes, "[in the] new mass media context, Black sexual stereotypes are rendered virtually invisible by their ubiquity; yet, they persist through a disconnected mélange of animal skins, sexually explicit lyrics, breast worship, and focus on the booty" (29). All of these are abundantly present in Madonna's work, but the most apparent way in which Madonna uses Black culture is through the integration of rap and hip-hop elements in her music and videos. For example, her *American Life* video and its music have a section that is directly reminiscent of a hip-hop video, and the aesthetic of *Music* is that of hip-hop. These upfront appropriations are a reflex to a market policy rather than an indication of politics towards Black culture, because hip-hop has come to play a significant role in mainstream pop culture.

The aesthetics of the Black are based not on beauty but on exoticism, which results from the same deviance of Black sexuality (Collins 76). Dances performed by Black dancers are overtly sexual. At the same time, dances constitute an important place for the culture, which is its most easily appropriable component because of the ease with which they can be modified to fit the particular politics of the appropriator (Patton 88-89). The same is generally valid for other types of dances, such as Caribbean and Hispanic, even though the particular history and resulting politics of the culture are substantially different. "Both disco dancing and voguing," as Cindy Patton observes, "appear to be restylizations of Afro-Caribbean dance forms, informally created within the popular dance practices of urban black and Latin homosexual men" (84-85). Madonna uses both of these types of dances in her videos (for instance, *Vogue* and *Sorry*), but clearly she is not a Black or Hispanic gay man, and therefore this practice is an exploitive appropriation from a culture that she does not belong to.

This result is amplified by the eroticism that the dance forms presuppose by virtue of their racial specificity.

Madonna uses racial exoticism as an effect. For example, in *La Isla Bonita*, the dancers and the guitar player are Hispanic. Madonna exoticizes herself in *La Isla Bonita* by wearing an ethnic dress and singing a few lines of the song in Spanish. The Black drummer looks oddly out of place, but his race creates additional exoticism which makes his role as a drummer even more stereotypical. This use of race as exotic contributes to the marginalization and subordination of non-White as Other.

*La Isla Bonita* is a direct exploitation of racial stereotypes. The video depicts the poverty of a Hispanic city and people who are playing music and dancing in the streets. A White Madonna wearing a luxurious red Hispanic dress is the center of attention for the audience and of worship to the crowd exalted by her presence (O'Brien Hallstein 134). The juxtaposition of the White Madonna with the poverty-stricken Hispanic setting and characters places Whiteness in a controlling position and presents the deviations from it as inferior. Another instance in which Madonna exercises control through her dominant position of being White is the *Like a Prayer* video, one of the most controversial comments on race that Madonna has made. Despite the indisputable criticism of racism that the video is, it remains constrained within the idea of White supremacy: it is Madonna, a White woman, who frees the Black victim of racism; his freedom is a generous act of mercy (Brady). This reestablishes a hegemonic hierarchy in which White women are more powerful than Black men (hooks 5-6).

Madonna's representational politics of race, however, are not limited to this simple reinforcement. An important aspect of Black sexuality is its sterilization from homosexuality. Because it does not fit the established gender roles, Black homosexuality is not acknowledged by the White hegemony. Furthermore, in their desire to protect the community from further stigmatization, the majority of Black Civil Rights movements have frequently excluded the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered members (Hutchinson 28-45). There is one Black dancer in the *Vogue* video, however, whose race is not his determining characteristic. The blending and depersonalization of the dancers which occur because they wear the same outfits, perform the same dance, and achieve the same status in the video, cause their homosexuality to be the focus of attention (Patton 96). Thus, Madonna recognizes Black homosexuality and deconstructs one of the Black sexual stereotypes.

This blurring of race roles is increased in *Vogue* when Madonna sings "It doesn't matter if you are black or white." There are two effects that this statement produces. The first one is the negation of race as an element of identity and the refusal to accept the restraining White hegemony, and can therefore be considered a counter-hegemonic force (Gaugler 48-49). The

second effect is a desire to eradicate African-American identity and to infiltrate this culture by merging it with hers, and is an expression of her politics of appropriation (Patton 96).

Madonna's politics concerning race are constructed in a manner similar to the rest of her cultural interactions. In some respects, she counteracts the racially engendered stereotypes of the dominant, but in most cases her relations to race tend to be of appropriation and result in the reinforcement of a previously constructed hegemony.

#### MADONNA'S CONSTRUCTION AS AN ICON

"On the cover of a magazine"

*Vogue*

Madonna's status as an icon is one of control and dominance over culture. She establishes this status by gaining power that has economic, political, and representational expressions (hooks 84-95). In a capitalist postmodern culture like the one in which Madonna operates, there is "blurring of the hitherto sacrosanct boundaries and polarities such as male/female, high art/pop art, film/TV, fiction/reality, private/public" and White/non-White that allows Madonna to use her representational politics and practices of appropriation as a means for gaining power (Swichtenberg 130).

Madonna's representational politics indicate distortion of the boundaries between masculine and feminine, straight and gay, and White and Black. She achieves this distortion through the ambiguous representations of the corresponding oppositions and through her frequent positioning between them, where the exact status of the subject is neither one nor the other. This strategy is deliberate and comes from Madonna's agency over her work.

The increased convergence of pop art with high art, stimulated by the greater mobility and accessibility of commodities, is a passive facilitator of Madonna's success. Her songs have reached the audiences that they have because of the ubiquity of mass media that provides a wide range of people with access to her works for a small cost. Madonna is a commodity which functions on the free market. The commoditization of the female body and the materialism as a theme in some of her songs and videos are an indication not only of her acceptance and conformity to the market economy, but also of her active pursuit of marketability.

To increase, for example, her marketability, Madonna uses appropriation of different subcultural elements, she moves freely between different feminist positions and takes agency over gay people and speaks for them, therefore implicitly positioning herself within queer culture. Similarly, her denial of the importance of race functions to assimilate Black and Latino cultures within the

White dominance, a part of which Madonna herself is, and thus markets herself to that audience.

Besides exercising agency over the subcultures, Madonna's appropriations create a representation of what is desirable for the particular subculture. They frequently rely on stereotypes, hence their selective nature. For example, women, as represented by Madonna, conform to gender roles, gays, are overly fashionable, and Black and Latino dancers are exotically erotic. The effect of these politics for the culture is the reestablishment of ideologies of dominance and therefore the further marginalization of the subcultures. The effect for Madonna is gaining control over representations and achieving a status of a cultural icon.

The manifestation of any cultural phenomenon is based on preexisting notions in the culture (McBride 59-87). Therefore, the recreations of hegemonic practices in the works of Madonna are a reflection of an expectation, rather than an artistic innovation. This explains the apparent contradictions between aspects of her politics that act in the direction of deconstructing the established ideologies and aspects that reinforce them.

The numerous transitions which Madonna has undergone are an indication of her adaptability to the changing climates in popular culture. In fact, Madonna can be viewed as an anthology of American culture. Her song *American Life* is a summary of all her transitions and a clear manifestation of her denial of acceptance of a static position. She even goes as far as asking "Should I change my name?/Will it get me far?", to show that she is prepared to abandon the only thing that she has kept constant ever since her debut in the name of (material) success. The background of changing national flags in the video to the song contrasts Madonna's assertion that she is "just living out the American dream" only to overemphasize the postmodern lack of certainty, which she has successfully taken up as her politics.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Prof. Don Jackson, whose Race, Gender, and Sexualities course this paper was originally created for. His endless and relentless criticism, combined with his empowering (and demanding) influence, proved to be a crucially motivating force in writing this article. Acknowledgements are also due to my *Lehigh Review* editor, Ellen Lempereur, for her dedication, patience, and expertise.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>i</sup> In semiotics, communication is not a static transmittal of information, but rather a constant negotiation and renegotiation of meanings, in which both sides are actively involved. A sign is a correspondence between a signifier and a signified, with the signifier being a representation of the signified. This relation is arbitrary and only possible within a holistic system of signs: that is, there are no inherent properties of the signifier that predetermine its representational function. The relation occurs in the context of the communication and is therefore flexible and potentially easy to change.

<sup>ii</sup> "What appear to be cultural units—human beings, words, meanings, ideas, philosophical systems, social organizations—are maintained in their apparent unity only through an active process of exclusion, opposition, and hierarchization. Other phenomena or units must be represented as foreign or 'other' through representing a hierarchical dualism in which the unit [Self] is 'privileged' or favored, and the other is devalued in some way" (Cahoone 16).

<sup>iii</sup> For a discussion on her maternal role in *Material Girl*, see Brady.

<sup>iv</sup> Hegemony is a type of power relation in which one group has dominance over another or all other groups. The dominant group is often the norm and the dominated are marginalized.

<sup>v</sup> The complete list is Greta Garbo, Marilyn Monroe, Marlene Dietrich, Joe DiMaggio, Marlon Brando, Lana Turner, James Dean, Fred Astaire, Ginger Rogers, Grace Kelly, Jean Harlow, Gene Kelly, Rita Hayworth, Bette Davis, Katharine Hepburn, and Lauren Bacall.

<sup>vi</sup> I have chosen to capitalize Black and White in this discussion to expand the otherwise narrow racial and ethnic connotations. My definition of Black encompasses the cultural, political, and historical implications of the term. See also Patricia Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*.

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## WAR AND WATER

### *WATER RESOURCES AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT*

LINDSAY NELSEN

Water issues are often overlooked when it comes to the Arab-Israeli Conflict, but they are essential to understanding the conflict and its future. Water resources and their exploitation have been a source of dispute between Arabs and Israelis and Israelis and Palestinians since the beginning of the conflict, both because water is such an important resource to the parties and because the issue is linked with the issues central to the conflict, such as the right of Israel to exist and expand as a sovereign state and the right of the Palestinians to their own state. There are two main points of contention over water: access to and control of the water from the Jordan River watershed (and to a lesser degree the Litani watershed) and control of the groundwater in the West Bank. The key conflict is over who should control these resources and exactly how much water each party should have access to. These issues have grown in importance over the last several years, as Israel and many of the other Arab states have reached their water resource limits due to population growth.

The Jordan River Basin is made up of the Jordan River and its principal tributaries. It streams through Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan and the Occupied Palestinian territories, all of which are dependent, to some extent, on it for water. There are four tributaries that make up the Jordan headwaters. The first tributary, the Hasbani River, originates in Syria and runs into Lebanon. The second, the Banias River, begins in the Golan Heights. The Hasbani River and the Banias River converge in Northern Israel. The Dan River, which begins in Israel, joins the Jordan at Lake Hula. The fourth tributary is the Yarmouk River, which begins in Syria and flows east into the Jordan (Kiser 8-9). Because the region's key basin, the Jordan River, originates in all four nations, the question of water has only heightened an already tense situation.

Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians are most dependent on the Jordan River Basin, but Lebanon and Syria have been equally involved in the water disputes for their own political and economic reasons (Dolatyar and Gray 89-92). Israel pumps approximately 60% of its water from the Jordan River. More than half of Israel's water is shared with Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the West Bank. Jordan pumps about 50% of its water from the Basin. Approximately 36% of Jordan's water sources are shared with Syria, the West Bank and Israel. With multiple nations dependent on the Basin and each other for water, the issue has contributed to tensions and complicated prospects for peace (Kiser 8-9).



Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Zionists, people who supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Israel, and the British focused on access to water supplies as a crucial element in the formation of a Jewish homeland. Water has always played a major role in Zionism, as it has been crucial to developing settlements, agriculture, and industry. Following the establishment of the British mandate over Palestine in 1922, the Jews sought to expand their territory to include the important water sources, specifically the Jordan River and the Yarmouk River, but they were not successful in doing so. The Jews also sought to distribute their settlements throughout the homeland for security and territorial reasons. As the Jews were primarily interested in expanding their settlements, they did not pay much attention to the issue of water resources. They often irrigated and settled in areas that had political, strategic, economic, or religious significance, rather than good access to water; this choice has proved troublesome in recent years, as Israel's water resources have reached their limit (Dolatyar and Gray 94-102).

Following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and the establishment of a Jewish state in 1956, Israel unilaterally began developing its water resources. It declared itself owner of all natural resources in its territory, abandoning the idea of regional water resource planning it had supported long ago. After declaring ownership, Israel drained the Huleh Swamps in the North, allowing for more settlements and agriculture and work on the National Water Carrier. The National Water Carrier was built to bring water from the upper Jordan River to

Israeli urban and agricultural centers (Dolatyar and Gray 104-5). These developments gave Israel access to the Jordan River headwaters.

To both the Arabs and the Israelis, the question of water was not merely a matter of economics, but also of politics, identity and national security. The Arabs were outraged by Israel's construction of the National Water Carrier, which they viewed as a "symbol of [Israel's] aggressive expansionism" (Dolatyar and Gray 105). The Arabs feared that the completion of the project would allow Israel to become far more economically, militarily and demographically viable, and thus an even more powerful threat. After a series of meetings, the Arab League decided to divert water from the Jordan River to Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, in order to prevent it from reaching Israeli territory. However, these plans were not implemented until 1964, which, coincidentally, was the same year that Israel completed its National Water Carrier (Rouyer 126). On the other hand, the Israelis viewed the Arabs' water diversion schemes as a direct threat to their own national security and existence despite the fact that the schemes were highly unsuccessful: "Israeli leaders perceived the diversion scheme as more than just an effort to cut off part of the water Israel received from the Jordan River; they felt it was an attempt to deny Israel the right to exist" (Dolatyar and Gray 131-2). In response, the Israeli military attacked water diversion construction sites in Syria, beginning a series of armed skirmishes between Arab and Israeli forces. Although it was these military confrontations that led up to the Six Days' War of 1967, water was not *the* cause of the war, but only one of many factors (Dolatyar and Gray 104-5).

By the end of the 1967 war, Israel had greatly increased its hydro-strategic position in relation to its Arab neighbors. Israel was able to build its own water supply to increase water security, as well as establish new settlements in the now occupied Palestinian territories. Israel's capture of the Golan Heights from Syria gave it control over the Banias Tributary, preventing the threat of future water diversion by the Arab states. The capture of the West Bank gave Israel control over its aquifers, allowing it to pump the water they contained for agricultural and domestic uses for Jewish settlements in the West Bank. While Israel increased water usage for Jewish settlements in the West Bank, it restricted Palestinian water usage. Israel's gains in the 1967 war drastically increased its water supply, and since then the Israelis have come to rely on these supplies. For example, nearly 50% of Israel's total groundwater and approximately 25% of its sustainable annual water yield is pumped from the West Bank. The western basin of the West Bank aquifer alone supplies over 50% of Israel's drinking water (Rouyer 133).

Israel's 1982 war with Lebanon resulted in the control of southern Lebanon by Israel before it turned over parts of Southern Lebanon to former Lebanese militia member Major Sadd Haddad. Israel had invaded Southern Lebanon in response to an assassination attempt against its ambassador to the United Kingdom, Shlomo Argov and to attacks launched against Israel by the

Palestinian Liberation Organization, which had bases in Lebanon (Encyclopedia Britannica). This occupation gave Israel brief control over the Litani River watershed, which is completely contained within Lebanon. The waters of the Litani River have been a source of contention, particularly among Syria, Jordan and Israel. Given that Lebanon does not make use of all of the Litani water, Syria, Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian territories have been in constant dispute over the extra water. The Litani water resources have thus played into the Israeli-Arab Conflict because of the water shortage but also because of the debate surrounding the reason Israel invaded Lebanon. Many speculate that part of the reason that Israel invaded Lebanon in the early 1980s was to secure and then partially divert the Litani River (Kiser 9). While it is clear that Israel would have been interested in controlling the Litani River, little evidence has been offered to support the claim that Israel's sole purpose in the invasion was to control and divert water. Israel invaded Lebanon primarily for national security reasons, and the argument that it was for any other reason is difficult to make.

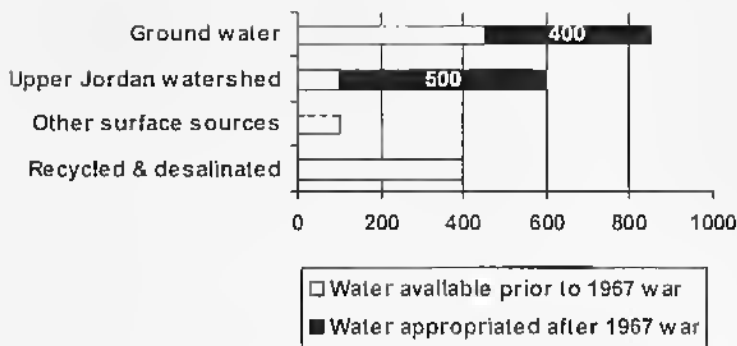
The Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty of October 1994 is one of the few treaties between Arabs and Israelis containing a detailed water agreement. The treaty set allocations for the sharing of the waters of the Jordan and Yarmouk rivers and the groundwater in the Arava Valley. It also established a framework for future cooperation on water management and the development of water resources in the Middle East (Rouyer 203-4). This development was encouraging because it demonstrated Israel's willingness to place limits on its own water supplies in return for peace.

Following Israel's occupation of the West Bank, the Israeli government implemented water policies that were generous towards Israelis and harsh towards Palestinians. These policies have not changed much since then. This inequitable distribution of water poses a major problem for the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, as the Palestinian authority will almost certainly demand the right for Palestinians to tap more water from the West Bank aquifers than the small amount that is currently allowed by Israel. The current Palestinian water quota is far below what is required for adequate health and sanitation. The World Health Organization estimates that 26.5 gallons of water per person is necessary to ensure minimum health and sanitation standards. Currently in the West Bank and Gaza, the average Palestinian consumption is 18.5 gallons per person per day, while Jewish settlements consume water at a rate of about 74 gallons per person daily (Bickerton and Klausner 359). This is a particularly problematic issue because allowing the Palestinians more control over the water supply in the West Bank could place Israel's own supply in danger. Much of Israel's surface water sources along the coast flow from the Mountain Aquifer in the West Bank. If the Palestinians were to sink wells in the West Bank, they could siphon off water that currently flows into Israel (Rouyer 132-4). Due to these concerns, it is highly unlikely that Israel will ever be willing to give up even partial control of West Bank water.

One obstacle to resolving water rights and usage in the Jordan River Basin has been the vagueness of international law on the subject. While international law is very specific when it comes to land right questions, it is vague on the topic of water rights. There are two international legal principles that conflict when it comes to international fresh water issues: sovereignty and integrity. Absolute Sovereignty holds that water is an integral part of a state's territory. The second legal principle is Absolute Integrity. This principle focuses on maintaining the integrity of a body of water rather than the sovereignty of the state where the body of water is. This doctrine states that "a river which flows through the territory of several states or nations is their common property... Neither nation can do any act with will deprive the other of the benefits of those rights and advantages." This principle includes the idea that downstream nations have the right to use force to prevent water from being diverted further upstream. Historically, when these two principles have conflicted, the stronger state has determined the outcome (Kiser 19-22). Thus, current international law does not provide an acceptable principle on which to base Arab-Israeli negotiations in regard to water rights.

Although gaining the Golan Heights in the Six Day War of 1967 increased Israel's water security by giving it nearly exclusive control over the headwaters of the Jordan River, it has decreased Israel's security, as Israel has not been able to make peace with Syria. Syria has maintained that any peace with Israel must include the return of the Golan Heights. This Syrian demand is troubling for Israel, who must choose between a hostile Syria and secure access to much needed water resources or a more peaceful Syria and less water security. Giving up the Golan Heights would make Israel vulnerable to Arab decisions regarding the Jordan River, complicating any future Litani development. It would also expose Israel's northern territory, including essential inlets and stations of the National Water Carrier, to Syrian forces (Kiser 22-23). Thus, any Israeli-Syrian peace will have to resolve both the issue of water rights and security.

Israeli gains in the 1967 war vastly increased Israel's water supply. Their current dependence on this supply makes it very difficult for Israel to make the territorial cessions needed to secure peace. Giving up that territory would likely create a water crisis in Israel. Acquisitions from the War in 1967 allowed Israel to meet its demand for water, allowing the nation to expand economically and agriculturally (see Figure 2). Giving up the West Bank, the Golan Heights and possibly the Gaza Strip would drastically decrease Israel's water resources. Allowing the Palestinians full statehood could lead to a political and economic crisis in Israel, given the loss of water the nation would face. Even if water resources were equally distributed between Israelis and Palestinians in a Palestinian state, the Israeli consumption of water would have to decrease by at least 75% because they would no longer be subsidized by the Israeli government (Kiser 28). Israeli territorial concessions could thus result in increased violence in both Israel and the Palestinian territories, a scenario which further complicates the peace process.

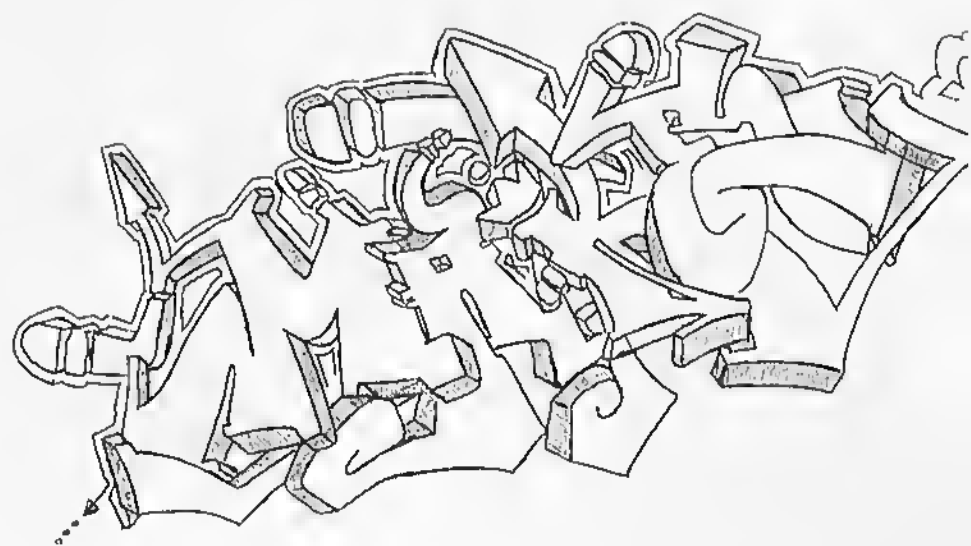


*Data Courtesy of Stephen D. Kiser*

In the past, Israel has negotiated treaties and agreements individually with each of the Arab states involved in the conflict. However, in regard to the issue of water rights, it seems clear that any solution will have to be a regional one. This is not an issue that can be solved through bi-lateral negotiations, as all of the states that depend on Jordan River Basin will be effected by the action of any party when it comes to water. It also is likely that any solution to the Israeli- Palestinian conflict will have to involve a third party, probably the United States. The Israelis, fearing the depletion of their water supplies, will be highly resistant to giving the Palestinians control over the West Bank and third party pressure and guarantees will probably be necessary to bridge the gap between the two parties. It is unlikely that Israel will exchange land for peace with the Palestinians or the Syrians until the issue of water rights is settled to their satisfaction. Thus, while the issue of water resources may be considered small, it has proven an essential element in the peace and security of the region and will continue to be important in the future.

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## DIFFERENT(CIATION)

### AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ESSENCE OF PROBLEMS & SOLUTIONS

B.W. DUNST

The groundlessness of any solution to a philosophical problem has caught the focus of potentially every philosopher who has considered the essence of an all-unknowing state of problemcity. As is the nature of philosophy, some may choose to address the 'problem' of groundless-solution by posing new and intentionally enlightened insights into the methods by which we should seek to overcome this obstacle—that is, some who identify this barrier seek to circumvent it, or tunnel through it in hopes of having 'solved' this problem. Other philosophers, as is the case with Gilles Deleuze, seek not to destroy this problem, but to map its topology—to metaphysically determine not the *essence* of this problem of groundless solution, but rather its *existence* and thus its conceptual stricture.

In setting his eye to the task of charting the landscape that is groundlessness (particularly in the realm of the traditional Cartesian *Cogito*, hybridized with Leibnizian, Platonic, and Kantian *Idea(s)*, and then later revealing that realm as only partially-determinable insofar as each conception is concerned) Deleuze finds that this realm is intrinsically entangled with differential distinctions as well as differential (in)distinctions. Addressing Kantian Ideas (as Deleuze conceptualizes them from *Critique of Pure Reason*) he notes:

The understanding alone would obtain answers or results here and there, but these would never constitute a 'solution'. For every solution presupposes a problem – in other words, the constitution of a unitary and systematic field which orientates

and subsumes the researches or investigations in such a manner that the answers, in turn, form precisely cases of solution. Kant even refers to Ideas as problems 'to which there is no solution'. By that he does not mean that Ideas are necessarily false problems and thus insoluble but, on the contrary, that true problems are Ideas, and that these Ideas do not disappear with 'their' solutions, since they are the indispensable condition without which no solution would ever exist. (Deleuze 168)

The intention here is to draw attention to the fact that the problems with which philosophers traditionally concern themselves are exactly the problems of Ideas, which are intrinsically *insoluble* in at least some sense of the word. Further, Deleuze identifies a Cartesian notion that solution and problem are intimately related—that is, one cannot come in contact with a problem which does not already presuppose the essential characteristic of there existing some sense of 'solution'. Conversely, it is true that when one encounters a solution, there is implied within its concept that it is the solution to something—a problem. The interplay between these two inseparable notions is anything but obvious much of the time; and Deleuze used the Differential and Integral Calculuses to exemplify the same optimistic entanglement as previously mentioned.

"Ideas, therefore present three moments," starts Deleuze, "undetermined with regard to their object, determinable with regard to objects of experience, and bearing the ideal of an infinite determination with regard to concepts of the understanding" (Deleuze 169). Already there is a pregnant tripartite distinction. It is important at this juncture to note that this tripartite distinction bears a bijective relation to the differential calculus which we shall address shortly. Similarly, this notion bears close resemblance to the Bergsonian conceptualization of Time as 'pure duration'. The resemblance is shown outwardly as Deleuze discusses the three 'moments' of Ideas in Kant's formulation of the *Cogito*:

It is apparent that Ideas here repeat the three aspects of the *Cogito*: the *I am* as an indeterminate existence, *time* as the form under which this existence is determinable, and the *I think* as a determination. Ideas are exactly the thoughts of the *Cogito*, the differentials of thought. (Deleuze 169)

Evidently, Deleuze takes the *I* of the *Cogito* to be a 'fractured I', "an I split from end to end by the form of time which runs through it...Ideas swarm in the fracture, constantly emerging on its edges, ceaselessly coming out and going back, being composed in a thousand different manners" (Deleuze 169). According to Deleuze, Kant's transcendental *Cogito* mimics exactly the Bergsonian essence of Pure Duration. Determination (*I think*) as such, cannot directly act upon the undetermined (*I am*)—that is, there is nothing in the

thinking which allows it to enact the action of determining. Determination is neither determined, nor undetermined—it is *becoming* in the Bergsonian sense. It is then reasonable to question (to pose the problem) of how the undetermined *becomes* determined—what specifically are the conditions by which the undetermined *are not*, but *become* determined?

The entire Kantian critique amounts to objecting against Descartes that it is impossible for determination to bear directly upon the undetermined. The determination ('I think') obviously implies something undetermined ('I am'), but nothing so far tells us how it is that this undetermined is determinable by the 'I think.' (Deleuze 86)

Deleuze shows that the condition by which undetermined becomes determined is a Kantian approach as set-forth in *Critique on Pure Reason*, championing an *a priori* form of Pure Duration which internalizes the *difference* between thinking and Being (Deleuze 86). It is in this way that Pure Duration is the method by which one is to recognize the 'fractured I' becoming fractured—the 'swarming of Ideas, constantly emerging on its edges'.

So how, it may be asked, does this tripartite distinction map bijectively into the co-domain of differential calculus? We shall first explore the traditional role of the differential and how it came to be that Deleuze rejected this in favor of this Kantian transcendental conception of the Cogito. He writes:

Just as we oppose difference in itself to negativity, so we oppose  $dx$  to not-A, the symbol of difference [*Differenzphilosophie*] to that of contradiction. It is true that contradiction seeks its Idea on the side of the greatest difference, whereas the differential risks falling into the abyss of the infinitely small. This, however, is not the way to formulate the problem: it is a mistake to tie the value of the symbol  $dx$  to the existence of infinitesimals; but it is also a mistake to refuse it any ontological or gnosological value in the name of a refusal of the latter. (Deleuze 170)

Instead, Deleuze summons the work of Salomon Maimon, Hoëne Wrouski, and Jean Bordas-Demoulin, whom he calls "a Leibniz, a Kant, and a Plato of the calculus" (Deleuze 171). As with the Kant-Bergson hybridized notion of Cogito as an entity internally playing in the transcendental construct of Pure Duration, Deleuze believed that the work (espoused by analytic philosophy and mathematics alike, which in-turn advocate a notion of differentiation ( $dx$ ) as complying with rigorous contemporary scientific technique) grossly misrepresented and undercut a cohesive or rich understanding of the notion of differentiation. "The principle of a general differential philosophy," according to Deleuze "must be the object of a rigorous exposition, and must in no way

depend upon the infinitely small" (Deleuze 171). As with the Cogito Deleuze likens the tripartite distinction to differential calculus as follows:

The symbol  $dx$  appears as simultaneously undetermined, determinable and determination. Three principles which together form a sufficient reason correspond to these three aspects: a principle of determinability corresponds to the undetermined as such ( $dx$ ,  $dy$ ); a principle of reciprocal determination corresponds to the really determinable ( $dy/dx$ ); a principle of complete determination corresponds to the effectively determined (values of  $dy/dx$ ). In short,  $dx$  is the Idea — the Platonic, Leibnizian, or Kantian Idea, the 'problem' and its being. (Deleuze 171)

Here we see, all at once, the full force of Deleuze's intention; he wants to recreate a notion of  $dx$ , of the differential operand/operator, of the symbolization and notation which has a meaning (though we shall see that this meaning is substantially richer than the "infinitesimal magnitude" explanation of mathematico-philosophers) and whose meaning is crucial and integral to a more complete understanding of the Calculus, Idea, and difference in itself.

Both Deleuze and proponents for the traditional conception of calculus agree to start on the same footing: continuity. The notion of the differential ( $dx$ ) is inexorably entangled with the sense of the continuous. The traditional notion of continuity depends on an iterative 'error-checking' method which proves, by mathematical induction, that sets on a logical structure (for example the respective sets of real, complex, rational, or irrational numbers; well-formed formulas, Ideals, or Cantor's Set) are sufficiently 'dense'. The notion of density however infers infinite count—that is to say that density requires a notion which allows one to conceptualize infinity in two key ways:

- a. That one is able to understand what it means to iterate a process by mathematical induction  $n$  times, where  $n$  approaches 'infinity'; so one must understand what it means for a (natural) number  $n$  to "approach" something, and further that what it approaches is "infinity" and not another number. In this sense ' $n$  approaching infinity' is a purely iterative notion. Each time one would like to do the operation as designated by a function (in this case the function is Mathematical Induction) that desire is suppressed, the function is then left as undetermined, and the 'next' value of  $n$  is chosen so that its calculation is once again suppressed. In a Bergsonian sense the function demonstrates Pure Inerrability. The idea is that one recognizes that one may always choose the 'next' value of  $n$ —that there is no upper

boundary to that choice. As such, iterative infinity is left indeterminate in the Deleuzian sense just as  $dx$ ,  $dy$  or  $I am$ .

- b. That each time one chooses an  $n$  to iterate, one must then identify that there exist an 'infinite' number of elements that fulfill a certain criterion (in this case that infinite elements remain in each iterated nested set, chosen by some iterative selection criteria). In this iteration the notion of infinity is somewhat more abstract than the above sense. Rather than being able to count towards the idea of infinity, reaching a notion of infinity by continually suppressing determination, a sense of sheer *amount* has been invoked. Amount not necessarily in the sense of 'count', but rather of 'magnitude', Infinity imagined as being of uncountable *size*.

Thus, the conception of continuity as determined by traditional mathematico-philosophers employs two senses of large infinity and force-fits them into the infinitesimal. By building an idea of an infinitesimal, an account of the differential ( $dx$ ) will be given Deleuzianly (the problem will be solved by first noticing the solution within the problem and recognizing the problem in the solution). Proponents for the infinitesimal explanation of ( $dx$ ) construct their notion of ( $dx$ ) circularly by assuming the interesting essences of pure differentiation, and nonsensically attributing them to a corrupt sense of condensed infinity. One must choose a set that might be 'dense', then find the boundaries of that set, and exceed them on either 'side' demarking the exceeded boundary as a newer supra-boundary. (If there is no orientation such that "side" makes sense, choose a different way to demark a new boundary. Though in this case a set of Real Numbers will be used, it is important to recognize that one is not limited to this selection.) Take the infinite set  $A=[0,1]$  where "[0,1]" represents a closed interval on the real numbers with lower and upper boundary points 0, and 1, respectively. This set is infinite by definition:  $R$  contains all the rational numbers  $Q$ , and all the irrational numbers  $R \setminus \{Q\}$  defined as those number in the domain of the Real set, but not in the domain of the Rational set. So  $R=Q \cup R \setminus \{Q\}$ ; the union of the rationales and the irrationals defined recursively (the 'rationality' of each number can be tested using the same 'error checking' technique as will be employed in determining continuity).

The reason for making this distinction is to show that the set  $A$  really is infinite. If one simply takes the set  $Q$  on  $[0,1]$  one can completely cover the entirety of the set by taking  $Q=m/n$  where  $m < n$ , &  $m$  and  $n$  are relatively prime (i.e.  $m$  divided by  $n$  cannot yield a value that is an element of the Natural numbers  $=\{0,1,2,\dots,p\}$ ). Notice here that the first/iterative sense of infinity as outlined in (i) has been invoked. In mapping all the rationales and restricting the domain to  $[0,1]$  the irrationals have also been negatively mapped as all elements in  $[0,1]$  which do not belong to the set as designated by  $Q$ . In doing so a countable/iterative sense of infinity has been smuggled into the numerical space

between 0 and 1. One should also recognize that for example, the numbers 2, or -1 have not been included; the upper limit to the set is 1 and the lower limit to the set is 0, no values less than 0 are included, nor are values greater than 1 included. This is an honest-to-goodness bounded infinite set, *A*.

One must now show that this set is 'infinitely dense', that no matter what interval, of arbitrary size chosen, there will be an infinite number of elements in *A*. Traditionally this is done by the method alluded to in (ii), by arbitrarily choosing an infinite number of iteratively smaller intervals (nested intervals) and showing that in each case there are always infinite members of the infinite set *A*. If this can be proven successfully, a method by which continuity can be defined by infinitesimals (where the infinitesimal is an interval of uniform size, smaller than the smallest possible arbitrarily small interval defining this continuity). This can be done because every interval contains infinitely many members of *A*.

Here (as Deleuze would have it) what has been attained by the infinitesimal  $dx$  is something "simultaneously undetermined, and determinable" though we've failed to acquire any sense of *determination*. Here is how Deleuze identifies what has gone wrong:

While it is true that continuousness must be related to Ideas and to their problematic use, this is on condition that it be no longer defined by characteristics borrowed from sensible or even geometric intuition, as it still is when one speaks of the interpolation of intermediaries, of infinite intercalary series or parts which are never the smallest possible. Continuousness truly belongs to the realm of Ideas only to the extent that an ideal cause of continuity is determined. (Deleuze 171)

He then continues by distinguishing between the "fixed quantities of intuition [quantum] and...variable quantities in the form of concepts of the understanding [quantitas]" (Deleuze 171). This distinction is wildly important, as it shows why exactly the infinitesimal notion of  $dx$  is wholly inadequate. When  $dx$  is defined as infinitesimal the notions of *quantum* and *quantitas* are exchanged and interchange haphazardly, without ever using them simultaneously—the distinction between the *difference* and the *different*s is ignored:

$dx$  is strictly nothing in relation to  $x$ , as  $dy$  is in relation to  $y$ . The whole problem, however, lies in signification of these zeroes. Quanta as objects of intuition always have particular values; and even when they are united in a fractional relation, each maintains a value independently of the relation. As a concept of the understanding, *quantitas* has a general value; generally here referring to an infinity of possible particular values: as many as the variable can assume. (Deleuze 171)

What Deleuze intended here is to draw attention to the relational essences of differentials. The differential  $dx$  is a sort of undefined and immutable 'nothingness' with respect to  $x$ , it literally carries no weight, and likewise  $dy$  to  $y$ . What is left is a superimposed notion of comparison between nothing ( $dx$ ) and once again nothing ( $dy$ ), in effect  $0/0$ —the systematic exclusion of nonsense. But with  $dy/dx$ , or  $0/0$ , it is precisely *nothing* that is expressed, indeed a sort of undefined-nothing has been tapped-into, simultaneously definition-differentiation and pure 'undifferentiatedness' incarnate.

In relation to  $x$ ,  $dx$  is completely undetermined, as  $dy$  is to  $y$ , but they are perfectly determinable in relation to one another. For this reason, a principle of determinability corresponds to the undetermined as such. The universal is not a nothing since there are, in Bordas's expression, 'relations of the universal'.  $dx$  and  $dy$  are completely undifferentiated [*indifférenciés*], in the particular and in the general, but completely differentiated [*différenciés*] in and by the universal. (Deleuze 172)

Thus the symbolization  $dy/dx$  is not the conglomeration of  $dy$  and  $dx$  in some functional relation to each other—they are not fractional as  $1/2$  is, but rather hold a new and independent sense of reciprocally. While  $dy/dx$  is indeterminate (like the sky from lightning) there is a determination *occurring*—there exists a problem *becoming* solution, *becoming* determined. It is in this way that  $dy/dx$  is the spacio-mathematical relation analogous to that of Kant's "time as the form under which this existence is determinable" in his transcendental conception of Cogito, as well as an analogue with Bergson's conception of *becoming* as the eternal temporo-differential demarcation.  $dy/dx$  simultaneously is, and is not.

The traditional matematico-philosophical party-line is that  $dy/dx$  is the *instantaneous* rate of change—the change is not changing, nor is the rate of change changing at any given instant, so to speak of an *instantaneous rate of change* is to speak of Bergsonian *becoming* as though it is *being*. This is a confusion between what Deleuze and Bordas called the 'universal' relative to the quality of becoming and the specified particular determined values that are expressed by  $dy/dx$ :

The universal in relation to a quality must not, therefore, be confused with the individual values it takes in relation to another quality. In its universal function it expresses not simply that other quality, but a pure element of qualitability. In this sense the Idea has the differential relation as its object: it then integrates variation, not as a variable determination of a supposedly constant relation ('variability') but, on the contrary, as a degree of variation of the relation itself ('variety') to which corresponds, for example, the qualified series of curves. (Deleuze 172)

Here Deleuze distinguishes to variety in the sense of multiplicity as repetition from variability in the sense of indeterminate but restricted iteration. With multiplicity as its aim, the integral variation takes on an infinity of potentials none of which are specifically selected. It is as though variation works for quality in differentiation as  $dy/dx$  works for quantity in differenciation—neither quality in the former, nor quantity in the latter is explicitly determined, but rather alludes to determination in the same way.

*Difference*, as the indeterminate lightning storm carries a multiplicity of differents without difference—*Repetition* as the lightning distinguishes itself without being distinguished—*dy* as an indeterminate zero with respect to  $y$ —*dx* an infinitesimal iterated/iterable zero with respect to  $x$ — $dy/dx$  without independence; a hopelessly dependant relation constantly varying (in the sense of variety) never released, but always becoming—and finally, *differenciation/repetition* the Idea intricately incorporating all the above into a “concrete universal,” fully extended to incorporate all  $dy/dx$ ’s. This is the “synthesis” to which Deleuze refers when he seeks to accurately describe the differential reciprocal relation. This “is what defines the universal synthesis of the Idea (Idea of the Idea, etc.): the reciprocal dependence of the degrees of the relation, and ultimately the reciprocal dependence of the relations themselves” (Deleuze 173).

It is under this interpretation of the calculus as it relates to Ideas that Deleuze suggests

We should speak of a dialectics of the calculus rather than a metaphysics. By ‘dialectic’ we do not mean any kind of circulation of opposing representations which would make them coincide in the identity of a concept, but the problem element in so far as this may be distinguished from the properly mathematical element of solutions. Following Lautman’s general theses, a problem has three aspects: its difference in kind from solutions; its transcendence in relation to the solutions that it engenders on the basis of its own determinant conditions; and its immanence in the solutions which cover it, the problem *being* the better resolved the more *it is* determined. (Deleuze 178-9)

With this Deleuze wishes to wed the same tripartite-distinction, previously employed, to the distinction between problems and solutions—this time with a glance back toward the distinction between differentiation and differenciation. The three aspects of which he spoke are of varying metaphysical scope.

The first thesis represents in a primordial sense the most general type of difference: a difference in kind. The only further explanation one should be able to attempt, if one were to follow the Deleuzian conceptual construct would be to affirm this as difference in itself. Problems are different from Solutions in



that they are not the same; they bear their kind as a difference, but also retain it as indifference—indeterminate, but *being determined*.

The second thesis draws awareness to the relation that binds the problem and solution: it is not that the undetermined *determines* but rather that the determination is borne of determining. Conversely, that determination determines the determined—that determination *is within* determining. This shows an interesting contrast to the first thesis: the indeterminate is within the determining, as is the determined; yet the two, indeterminate and determined are incapable of co-existing, even in determining! The trick, of course is recognizing the subtle difference between Being and Becoming. The first thesis draws a relation between the undetermined problem and the problem *being determined*. The second thesis relates the solution *becoming determined* with the determined solution.

The third thesis re-encapsulates the *Being* of the determined—the closer the problem to solution, the further from being a problem, less-distant from becoming solution (but farther nonetheless) being a solution defines that solution's determination. There is little difference here from what happens in the calculus with respect to  $x$ ,  $dx$ ,  $dy/dx$ , and  $f(c) = df(c)/dx$ , where  $c$  represents specific (though unarticulated) conditions which exude solution(s),  $x$  is a problem yet-undetermined,  $dx$  is nothing with respect to  $x$ —it *is*  $x$ , but naught,  $dy/dx$  is no longer  $x$ , but  $x$  is *in* it—it is  $dx$  becoming  $dy$ , and  $f(c) = df(c)/dx$  is a solution fully determined, but hitherto incomplete.

We have seen how all three of these aspects were present in the differential calculus: the solutions are like the discontinuities compatible with differential equations, engendered on the basis of an ideal continuity in accordance with the conditions of the problem...*Problems are always dialectical*...What is mathematical...are the solutions. (Deleuze 179)

Yet one is not limited by this apparent restriction. Deleuze continues by affirming that there are 'solutions' in mathematics which, while they technically lay in the domain of 'solutions' they essentially assume the role of 'problem'. His explanation is that there are different orders of problems and solution, and different respects from which to understand them. Just as the mathematical notions of 'order', 'degree', and 'power' represent the same reaffirmation, repetition, or reiteration, a veritable multiplicity without recurrence; problem and solution mimic this structurization. Deleuze notes that:

each dialectical problem is duplicated by a symbolic field in which it is expressed. That is why it must be said that there are mathematical, physical, biological, psychical, and sociological problems even though every problem is

dialectical by nature and there are no non-dialectical problems. Mathematics, therefore, does not include only solutions to problems; it also includes the expression of problems relative to the field of solvability which they define, and define by virtue of their very dialectical order. (Deleuze 179)

This he gives as the reason by which differential calculus belongs exclusively to the field of mathematics since mathematics contains within it the models which describe solvability (reference Gödel's Incompleteness Theorems), which are not solutions within themselves, but rather expressions of "problems relative to the field of solvability which they define" (Deleuze 179). This structural characteristic is essential to mathematics and its application to any other field necessarily introduces a purely mathematical characteristic to that field. Instead of looking at the internal properties of an Idea or problem in order to determine solvability, Deleuze suggests that one look to the external structure of the problem or Idea (p 180). It is in this sense that Turing and Church designed their famous test with the goal of algorithmically deciding whether a truth-functional statement is structurally (syntactically & semantically) solvable. The field of mathematical logic is devoted specifically to the task of learning (being able to reach solution) through exclusively formal (structural) means. Deleuze concludes that:

Calculus recognizes differentials of different orders. However, the notions of differential and order accord with the dialectic in a quite different manner. The problematic or dialectical Idea is a system of connections between differential elements, a system of differential relations between genetic elements. There are different orders of Ideas presupposed by one another according to the ideal nature of these relations and the elements considered (Ideas of Ideas, etc.). (Deleuze 181)

With this Deleuze has contented himself with his treatment of the Differential Calculus. He has contracted a recurrent tripartite distinction such that Bergsonian duration fluently weaves through and around Leibnizian differential calculus via the articulate flying shuttle of Kantian Ideas. His goal to pull apart the loose conceptual textile of the mathematico-philosophical notion of differential as solely infinitesimal succeeds astonishingly considering the philosophical setting in which Deleuze seeks to apply his handiwork. If the particular ambition was to map the topology of groundlessness—to metaphysically determine not the *essence* of this problem of groundless solution, but rather its *existence*, all Deleuze found was the middle-ground between light and shadow. In a characteristically Wittgensteinian sense, the problem did not 'exist' because the question was nonsense—the solution was not solution at all, but rather a reiteration of a higher-order problem.

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## THE RETURN OF THE REPRESSED

### *HOMOSEXUALITY IN AMERICAN CULTURE*

KATHLEEN M. MISH

What is repressed will eventually return to the surface of consciousness in both one's psychological self and in society. In his essay, "Power and Law in Hawthorne's Fictions," Eric Mottram explores Sigmund Freud's notion of the return of the repressed and applies the concept to a study of society. Mottram focuses on the return of the repressed—mainly sexuality—in Nathaniel Hawthorne's literature, but his theories about repressed sexuality in a fictional world can be applied to our own society. In today's culture, homosexuality is returning to cultural consciousness after a long history of repression.

Homosexuality is not alone in its prolonged repressed state. Mottram recognizes the multiple forms repression has taken in our country. Each represents a taboo in society: "In America the repressed appears as the Indian, the Black Man in the forest, wilderness and wildness, the Devil, uncontrolled libido in any form" (Mottram 227). The uniting factor between these taboos is their manifestation as "uncontrolled libido." A heterosexual society views homosexuality as the ultimate lack of control over one's sexual urges, which originate in the libido. In our homophobic society, homosexuals are often associated with rampant promiscuity. Supposedly, they cannot control their sexual urges and often have sex in public places, such as the infamous public baths in New York City. Society is generally unwilling to accept forms of sexuality which deviate from the ideal controlled, heterosexual norm. Thus homosexuality is depicted as entirely unnatural. In Mottram's words, "What thrusts past the censor, what threatens normality, is presented as monstrous, a villain, the natural threatening state forms" (227). As a result, homosexuals are demonized for their "wild" sexuality and many have had to repress their sexual desires in order to gain acceptance in our culture.

Repression and demonization do not occur arbitrarily. Mottram explains

the motives behind this repression: "so that religious and capitalist relationships can be imposed" (227). Today, religious and economic leaders seem to be the most vocal opponents against homosexuality. Religious leaders use the arguments of "morality" in order to promote their views, which are broadcast through the media. They view sexual relationships as existing rightly only between men and women, an ideal set forth in ancient religious texts. This norm is then imposed upon society through the venue of the pulpit. Any opposing form of sexuality other than that of husband and wife is a direct threat to their heterosexual security. Homosexuality is also threatening to capitalism. The possibility of gay marriage would allow for more tax cuts, benefits given only to married couples. If more Americans were married as a result of legalized gay marriage, then the government would lose a significant amount of money. These religious and political leaders are also worried that same-sex friends will engage in marriages of convenience in order to receive these monetary benefits. The capitalist argument is then tied in with the religious, for the emphasis is not only on the loss of money but on the proposition of a "meaningless" marriage. Thus, our own society continues to associate religious and capitalist arguments with each other.

Homosexuality can indeed overcome the stigmas imposed by religion and capitalism. In his analysis of Hawthorne's fiction, Mottram speaks of the possibility that the formerly repressed revolutionary concept could actually be a positive response to the ordinary and possibly outdated work production of society. This revolution must be recognized in case the concept is actually superior to the former way of life: "The creative/subversive must somehow be given permission: the dilemma of the State" (Mottram 227). The recognition of homosexuality is a natural continuation of the sexual revolution beginning in the 1960's in American culture. As our comfort with sexuality is continually broadened because of this revolution, homosexuality can come to be included within these safe boundaries. The State, however, is still threatened, and the process will prove to be gradual.

Besides the backlash from the State, there are challenges along the way to a complete revolution of cultural consciousness. Mottram recognizes this impediment, stating "nostalgia for a feudal order in hierarchy, a class-structured unity, confronts the new, the forward movement in revolt" (228). Some of the most staunch arguments against gay marriage come from the homosexual community itself, as the gay community may also foster nostalgia for some form of class structure. Attempts to establish the practice of gay marriage are seen as assimilation to the monogamous, lifelong relationships idealized by American religion and society. As the monogamous lifelong relationship is inherently a heterosexual ideal, isn't a campaign for gay marriage simply conforming to the standards already established by those who fight so hard against homosexuality? In the hierarchy of relationships of America, marriage is most definitely placed above all else. Homosexuals can attempt to challenge this hierarchal system rather than simply gain a superior place in the already established hierarchy.

This revolutionary movement may cause a complete and sudden return of homosexuality in all its varieties to social consciousness.

Yet, the return of the repressed may indeed be a slow process if capitalist culture is accepted. Mottram's exploration of self-repression due to nostalgia can be applied to the capitalistic nature of society. Homosexual culture has already become intrinsically entwined with capitalism. Contrary to popular belief, this association is not a positive move towards social acceptance. Instead, by becoming involved in capitalist culture, homosexuals will also become a slave to its demands. For example, the popularity of homosexuals in such television shows as "Queer Eye for the Straight Guy" and "Will and Grace" has characterized a certain type of homosexual as socially safe. These homosexuals are upper-class white males, and their social status is emphasized. These men are safe to view from one's home television just as "lipstick lesbians," the ideal gorgeous lesbians worshipped by young heterosexual males, conform to the standards of femininity and do not act as a threat to anyone's sexuality. In order to gain ratings and create revenue, homosexuals must conform to a safe, acceptable, and toned down version of their sexuality. Only then can they gain the favor of the audience. According to Mottram, "the monster created by a society or by and through its invented gods...elicits sympathy because he or she or it is the form of the repressed and oppressed. The illegal becomes a category of necessity and therefore strangely legal" (230). Homosexuals have now reached the position where they can safely be the recipient of sympathy, as long as they become the "safe homosexual." They have created a place for themselves in American society, though this place may not be the ideal or even completely revolutionary social position. The repressed has returned to consciousness, though in limited forms. Homosexuals must continue to repress a part of themselves in order to compete in a capitalist world.

Despite the oppressive nature of the capitalist culture, homosexuality will no longer be repressed completely by other authoritative structures of society. Sexuality cannot be controlled by the government, despite its best efforts. Even Mottram agrees: "Legalistic Nature is the fiction of the Law of the State" (229). The control of homosexuality is a fictional power. In the past, homosexual acts were illegal in many places. Even today, these laws exist in some states, and attempts to revoke them have been futile. Instead, more laws are being created against homosexuality, as seen in the last election in which eleven states voted to ban gay marriage. Homosexuality has definitely found ways to come into social consciousness which are most definitely not safely within the boundaries of the law and will continue to do so despite the best efforts of the government.

Homosexuality has been demonized as a form of uncontrolled libido and repressed by American society. This repression occurs in order to promote religious and capitalistic ideals. But the repressed returns as society progresses. Challenges exist which deter a complete return to social consciousness. These challenges may even stem from within the revolutionary culture itself.

Ultimately, the repressed—in this case, homosexuality—does find a place in American culture, though the struggle to become and remain established is constant.



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## A LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS

### *AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS*

LINDSAY NELSEN

On December 11, 1977, Amnesty International became the first human rights Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, a recognition which gave the group a certain global legitimacy. During the award presentation, Amnesty was praised for its global efforts to "defend human dignity against violence and subjugation" (Korey 156). Since receiving the prize, Amnesty's membership has grown considerably, as has its influence over governments and intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations. Amnesty International's influence in pressuring governments to implement international human rights laws and as a source of reliable apolitical human rights information has resulted from hard work, vision, and careful strategy. Amnesty has gained influence, in questions of political prisoners, disappearances, and the use of torture, through its apolitical agenda, its direct and flexible approach, its reliable collection of information, and the direct involvement of its members. Amnesty's influence is also derived from the basis of its goals in international human rights law, giving it increased legitimacy in the eyes of the governments of the world.

#### **A NEW VISION AND THE "CURIOUS GRAPEVINE"**

The end of World War II came the beginning of a new, international political era. The once great powers of Germany and Japan were under occupation. France was relatively weak, Britain was no longer the supreme power, and the United States of America and the Soviet Union were the new great powers. There was great hope that this new era would be one of peace, prosperity and cooperation between states. With this hope in mind, fifty-one countries signed the United Nations charter as founding members on June 26, 1945 (UN). Three years later, the members signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The declaration proclaimed that all people are entitled to a

wide range of social, economic, cultural, and humanitarian rights (Amnesty). While these developments were hailed as a victory for human rights, it soon became evident that states were too busy worrying about other issues like the Cold War to deal with the implementation of the declaration; it also became clear that many states were not very eager to implement the vision anyways. Human rights were not only a problem of the developing world—the problem spanned the entire globe, including Western states that had always prided themselves as the leaders on such questions.

In November 1960, a British lawyer named Peter Benenson came up with the idea that “prisoners of conscience could be released by writing letters to government(s)” (Korey, et.al. 160). This idea came to him while he was reading about two Portuguese students who were jailed for seven years for criticizing the Salazar Dictatorship of Portugal. Benenson was so outraged that these two students had been imprisoned for merely expressing their opinions that he decided to take action. With Eric Baker and Louis Blom-Cooper, he started a campaign called “Appeal for Amnesty, 1961.” This group urged the release of who Benenson called prisoners of conscience, those imprisoned simply for expressing their opinions. With the aid of the editor of an influential newspaper, the campaign became very public and extended the issue to other parts of the globe where similar situations existed. The work was noticed by newspapers all over the world and thousands of letters of support were sent to Benenson’s office. Groups were put in touch with each other and encouraged to adopt their own group of three prisoners to campaign for. Local chapters quickly grew in the West. In February of 1962, delegates from the chapters decided to make the one-year temporary campaign into a permanent organization that they called Amnesty International. At this point, the organization was focused on working toward the release of prisoners of conscience, fair trials for political prisoners, and the ending of torture; however Amnesty would soon become an organization devoted to a wide range of human rights (Korey 160-164; also Cook 181-184). Eleanor Roosevelt predicted that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would be implemented through a “curious grapevine.” While she did not define what she meant by this phrase, it quickly became evident that the grapevine was that of nongovernmental organizations. This “curious grapevine” would be led by the candlelight of Amnesty International and other human rights NGOs throughout the world (Korey 48).

## STRUCTURE, STRATEGY, AND SELF REGULATION

Since its founding in 1962, Amnesty International has been careful to uphold its own standards, particularly those which concern information gathering, decision making, and politics. Amnesty has put enormous focus on the means it uses to achieve its goals, as these may directly impact its future legitimacy and influence. Amnesty’s constant independence from governments and the reliability of its information has been crucial to its success.

Amnesty International long ago established rules that govern its fact-finding missions to countries suspected of human rights violations. No missions are sent to any country secretly. All must be officially approved by the country. While a mission is in a country investigating possible violations, no comments are permitted to be made to the media. Upon the return of the investigators to their London offices, a report is submitted to Amnesty's International Executive Committee. It is this committee that prepares and releases a full report that makes public findings and recommendations (Korey 163-4). These procedures ensure the accuracy of information before it is released and make sure that Amnesty's message is consistent. Amnesty also avoids taking credit for the release of prisoners to avoid both underestimating the roles of others and to avoid furthering embarrassing governments, as this could prove counterproductive to future efforts (Korey 169).

Throughout its history, Amnesty has strived to maintain its independence, particularly in the area of finance. Amnesty is one of the only European human rights NGOs that has refused to accept funds from any government, fearing that its "independence and integrity" would be compromised. In fact, the organization debated whether to accept the Nobel Peace Prize because of the financial award of 80,000 pounds attached to it. In the end, Amnesty decided to accept it to help pay for future administrative expansion (Korey 170). Beyond that award, Amnesty is financed by dues paid by its members as well as donations from private individuals and foundations (Amnesty).

Amnesty places great emphasis on the reliability of its information, since collected information is considered the basic source of its strength. Amnesty prides itself on its reliable, carefully collected, and organized information. The research department of the organization collects, assembles, and checks all of the information using a wide variety of sources and contacts to ensure that its information is correct (Korey 166). This process gives increased credibility to Amnesty's information.

Another key component of the organization is the "intensely personal commitment" felt by its members (Thakur 158). Amnesty has been effective in maintaining the personal connections between its members and those it seeks to protect by involving the members in every part of the release process. Members are involved from the beginning, through both the letter writing campaigns and their direct action in lobbying governments and other bodies (Korey 168). As an organization, it is important for Amnesty to maintain this personal connection, because it allows its members to feel that they, as individuals, are contributing to the efforts of the entire organization.

Finally, Amnesty has been careful to maintain balance in its campaigns. For example, in its campaign to release prisoners of conscience, Amnesty encourages national groups to "adopt" three prisoners, one from the developed world and two from less developed regions, emphasizing the global scale of the

problem as well as preventing accusations that it is using human rights to pursue its own political agenda (Keck and Sikkink 88). Placing emphasis on human rights, rather than the adoption of certain forms of government is particularly important for chapters in developing nations. Human rights, not political change, have always been and will remain Amnesty's key focus.

## THE POWER OF PUBLICITY: WHY GOVERNMENTS LISTEN

When Amnesty began its year-long campaign in 1962 to release prisoners of conscience, through targeted letter writing to governments, there were many skeptics (Thakur 158). To many, the idea that a group of common citizens could bring about political change by writing letters to repressive governments seemed foolish and hopelessly idealistic. After all, these critics believed that repressive governments had no reason to listen to foreign complaints. Governments around the world had continued to imprison people for political reasons and use torture despite international law advocating otherwise. States and their leaders showed little concern for the Declaration of Human Rights, which had never been implemented to begin with.

Surprising many skeptics, Amnesty's early letter campaigns combined with missions sent to the countries to plead at the highest level for the release for prisoners often met with success. What brought success was the question of state embarrassment—a weakness that Amnesty quickly found. Amnesty capitalized on the fact that even the most repressive governments have an interest in maintaining a positive public image. Governments do not like to be criticized by outsiders, particularly when the issue of human rights violations is raised. International criticism is extremely embarrassing and feared by many regimes who are willing to make small changes to avoid it.

Since its inception, many of Amnesty's letter writing campaigns and humanitarian state visits have been successful. In 1962, a mission to Czechoslovakia convinced the Foreign Minister to release Archbishop Josef Beran, who "had been held incommunicado" by the regime. Another mission to Ghana led then-President Kwame Nkrumah to release 152 of his political opponents (Korey 163). In 1964, the Irish government freed 37 prisoners on Human Rights Day, and Romania released thousands more. Between 1967 and 1968, 293 more prisoners were released because of the work of Amnesty International (Korey 164). By 1977, Amnesty had adopted 15,000 prisoners and helped to win the release of nearly half of them. As UN Secretary-General Ennals noted, "the coincidence rate between the cases... taken up and the people released is simply high" (Korey 165).

While Amnesty's letter campaigns and humanitarian missions are key to winning prisoner releases, the collection and distribution of human rights information has become the organization's most important focus. This information is often used to create international pressure for change in a

government's actions. Although Amnesty has been able to win the release of or better treatment for many political prisoners through simple campaigns, on occasion, the abuses have been so extensive that Amnesty has been unable to secure change without significant pressure from other governments. In many cases, Amnesty has been able to use its collected information to build international awareness and push for change. For example, it was this combination of domestic and international pressure that helped Amnesty bring about human rights changes in Argentina.

### *Argentina*

Following the military coup of 1976, the new regime attempted to hide its human rights violations by "disappearing" its political opponents instead of publicly arresting and executing them. By secretly kidnapping, detaining, and executing its victims, the Argentine military hoped to avoid the international isolation that had been imposed on the Chilean dictatorship when it publicly imprisoned and executed large numbers of people (Keck and Sikkink 103-105). The Argentine dictatorship also practiced torture on an unprecedented scale during its "dirty war" against a wide variety of individuals it deemed a threat (Korey 178).

In the early stage of Argentine rule, when the disappearances were minimal, the regime permitted Amnesty to send in a mission (Korey 179). Argentina's leaders hoped that the mission would help to lessen increasing international criticism of the regime. Amnesty released a report in March of 1977 which documented a large number of abuses by the regime. The report criticized the regime for its abuses and demonstrated that the disappearances were part of a campaign to torture, interrogate, and secretly execute large numbers of people for political reasons (Keck and Sikkink 104). Amnesty's report was particularly useful because of its detailed and factual account. It listed the names, dates, and locations of many of the killings (Korey 179). It also estimated that between 2,000 and 10,000 people had been abducted and 6,000 political prisoners taken (Keck and Sikkink 104). Amnesty's report led the American Carter Administration and the leaders of France, Italy, and Switzerland to condemn the human rights violations and begin to put pressure on the regime.

While the Argentine government denied the legitimacy of the international human rights concerns for a number of years, in 1978, the military regime began to take measures to slowly improve its human rights in order to stem criticism from abroad. Argentine leaders were eager to improve the regime's global image and win back the military and economic aid it had lost. In 1985, two years after Argentina returned to a democratic government, Argentina was able to try the leaders responsible for the abuses. Thus, what started as Amnesty's campaign eventually resulted in positive change and a government more friendly to human rights (Keck and Sikkink 107-109).

In accordance with its policy, Amnesty International did not take credit for the success. The work of many other human rights organizations was essential to the campaign, in particular the done by organizations within Argentina. Domestic human rights organizations such as The Mothers of the Playa de Mayo and political exiles provided a great deal of information to organizations and governments (Keck and Sikkink 106-109).

## STANDARD-SETTING, IMPLEMENTATION, AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The international human rights system is fundamental to Amnesty's credibility and legitimacy. Human rights treaties and other standards provide a "consistent and uniform code" by which Amnesty assesses every government. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights remains one of the most important of these treaties by noting the most basic rights that states must afford their citizens (Cook 183). Since Amnesty relies on such legislation for its support, it has always been adamant in involving itself in the drafting of international human rights legislation. Since the creation of the United Nations, Amnesty has played a vital role as an awareness builder, consultant, and provider of information. In this way, Amnesty hopes to ensure that there remains a global consensus on the need for human rights protection in international law.

Amnesty has concentrated on strengthening human rights standards at the United Nations. Amnesty was particularly active in pushing for a United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment to implement Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This Convention was passed in 1984. Amnesty was also active in drafting the Optional Protocol to the Convention on Torture, and has been involved in a wide variety of UN committees, including a one focused on crime (Cook 189-93).

Amnesty International has gained great influence at the United Nations. As a non-state actor lacking any formal power, Amnesty uses this forum to speak to varied governments. Amnesty has an interesting policy of supporting certain policy aspects at the United Nations rather than specific versions of resolutions. Doing this avoids questions of creditability for both Amnesty and the particular resolutions (Cook 183- 87).

Amnesty International's role extends far beyond the halls of the United Nations; it not only helps to write new human rights law, but also plays a role in ensuring that the legislation, conventions, and treaties that the United Nations approves are in fact implemented. The organization was recently involved in lobbying for a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, an effort which was vital to the creation of the position (Cook 192).



While Amnesty has established itself as a reliable and independent human rights consultant to the United Nations and to governments across the globe, it often faces enormous challenges in gaining access to certain United Nations' meetings and conferences. Many of the informal meetings between governments where vital human rights decisions are made are not open to NGOs, making it difficult for Amnesty to exert influence. Amnesty has also found it difficult to work in an area where politics and compromise are commonplace. Many times, Amnesty must choose between making no progress on a human rights standard and supporting a standard that is lower than its own. Although some of Amnesty's positions go further than international law, in most cases Amnesty tries to stick with the positions ratified by international bodies. Thus, Amnesty's work at the United Nations can have high stakes, as the resolutions approved there can directly affect its own positions (Helena 209-211).

### THE LIMITS OF INFLUENCE

Despite the fact that Amnesty International has been successful in many of its efforts, large obstacles still remain to human rights improvement in some areas. Amnesty's strategy, which uses publicity and pressure to improve human rights, has been more effective in some countries than it has been in others. The success of Amnesty's strategy depends on an individual government's vulnerability to international pressure and publicity. Some governments accused of human rights violations have managed to avoid significant international pressure from other governments, because these governments have deemed continued good relations with the abusive state more important than the human rights situation. Since September 11, 2001, and the American "War on Terror," some governments have escaped international criticism by assisting with the fight against terrorism. One example is the American partnership with Pakistan, a notorious human rights violator; Pakistan assists the U.S. in its fight against terrorism and in return the U.S. ignores how the Pakistani government chooses to run its internal affairs. Another example is the longstanding U.S. partnership with Saudi Arabia (Mertus 373). It is also apparent that some governments place little value on their image, caring only about the extent of their political control. It is very difficult for Amnesty to influence such governments.

Another obstacle to human rights improvement is the insufficient number of domestic human rights organizations in some developing states. As evidenced in the example from Latin America, information gathered by domestic NGOs is often essential to the success of international human rights campaigns. They provide information to the outside world, helping to induce international and domestic pressure. In countries where human rights movements are less organized or persecuted, it is much more difficult for organizations like Amnesty to become aware of violations and take action. With these vital components to change missing, human rights violations are often times not addressed. Judging by its numbers of domestic human rights

organizations, Latin America seems to have a far better record of human rights than other developing regions. A directory compiled in 1981 of organizations concerned with human rights and social justice in the developing world listed 220 in Latin America, but only 145 in Asia and 123 each in Africa. Therefore, Amnesty's success in Argentina must be understood in the context of highly disparate regional situations (Keck and Sikkink 92).

## CONCLUSION

Although there are challenges to Amnesty's success, it seems clear that the organization has managed to influence many governments to improve human rights. There has been significant progress: the language of human rights is now commonplace, consensus on human rights remains considerable, and dictators can no longer claim interference in domestic affairs to avoid dealing with incriminations (Florini 178). Amnesty's success in improving human rights has resulted from its principles, strategy, connections, and reliable apolitical information gathering. While other actors have often been involved in achieving change, it is Amnesty International that has led that global fight. What began as one attorney's vision has become a legitimate global institution leading the fight to protect human rights. Amnesty sought to light the candle of hope, but instead they lit a fire.

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## VOTING RIGHTS

### *THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY*

JESSICA R. DREISTADT

Suffrage is a fundamental civil right conferred upon all U.S. citizens aged 18 and older. It is truly a privilege, as many countries throughout the world do not allow this opportunity for participation. The right to vote is often taken for granted in America, especially by traditional college age students; the voter turnout rate for young people is especially low (U.S. Census Bureau). Many others do not vote because of class barriers such as historical exclusion from the franchise and other institutions controlled by elites. A better understanding of the struggle to obtain the right to vote in the United States is needed so that the significance of representative democracy is fully appreciated by those who choose not to vote and opportunities for political participation are equally available to all.

The journey to the democratic ideal of universal suffrage has been, and continues to be, a struggle for power between political parties, states versus the federal government, urban and rural areas, nonprofit organizations, and individual citizens. An outline of the historical events that propelled and shaped the extension of voting rights, the challenges of exercising those rights, and federal legislation that has been passed to reinforce access to the franchise will be followed by a discussion about the social and political ramifications of this ongoing process. While the main focus will be on racial minorities; the women's suffrage movement will be explored to highlight the role that class has played in this genre of social movements.

### SUFFRAGE MOVEMENTS

The right to vote was secured for women and African Americans through the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments of the Constitution. Prior to national suffrage, states independently decided whether or not to grant these groups the

right to vote. Persuading those in power to expand the franchise while embracing Federalist ideology was a challenge that involved the dedication of many social activists and organizations, cross-sector coalition building, and the development of political allies. The process was both top-down and bottom-up; those in power had the privilege of choosing which issues would be considered relevant, often for self-serving purposes, while those at the grassroots provided the impetus for action, the infrastructure to communicate ideas nationally, and the relentless work needed to effectively gain the support of lawmakers.

The true meaning of American democracy is subjective and mysterious, and has been since the colonial era. The "founding fathers" spoke and wrote about freedom, liberty, and equality; however, the practices of many indicated quite a different reality. Our federal government's basic documents laid the foundation for equal rights regardless of race, ethnicity, social class, or gender. "It was simply impossible to proclaim a Declaration of Independence that spoke of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' and of 'the consent of the governed' without inspiring hopes that those words might mean what they say" (Weatherford 9). And so, the disenfranchised people of the United States, which included poor, illiterate, non-white, and female residents, fought with fervor for their right to vote to ensure that the sentiment of the Declaration of Independence was indeed reality.

## WOMEN

Most new states allowed white men to vote; this was often restricted to those who owned property. Women were almost always excluded from this democratic process because of their 'feminine nature,' their responsibilities at home, and the expectation that men would protect their interests in the public arena. (Keyssar 173-4; Weatherford 10). Many women yearned for independence; this was driven by economic necessity for some and by a well-deserved sense of entitlement for others.

Women were in a unique position to influence elites in power because many of those decision makers were their fathers, husbands, or other relatives. Their political capacity was also enhanced because many women contributed to the economy by owning property and paying taxes. "Women ...were not a socially segregated group" (Keyssar 173). Because of their presence in multiple social classes, women had the ability to leverage resources, political influence, and masses of people – voters and nonvoters alike.

Unfortunately, the movement's leaders did not always capitalize the opportunity to partner with groups with dissimilar social backgrounds. This led to factionalism within the movement and a discontinuous relationship with African American activists. During the emancipation movement, Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth were among the suffragists' allies. The two interests merged organizations during the civil war, forming The American Equal Rights Association. However, many of the advantaged suffragettes

resented working to obtain voting rights for newly freed slaves. Some felt that "it was wrong for the polity to enfranchise ignorant blacks and foreigners while barring educated, native-born women" (Keyssar 190). The suffragist movement split into two organizations until 1890, spreading the precious resources of talent and time very thin. The movement also ignored working class women — an enormous pool of potential activists — until a strike of 20,000 in the garment district of New York caught their attention in 1909 (Weatherford 182-3).

With new coalitions in place, the movement had the human capital to change federal policy. The final turning point in this crusade came in 1919, when enough states had extended suffrage to women that this voting bloc would have a strong influence in the Presidential election (Weatherford 226). The Nineteenth Amendment, which states, "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex" was adopted on August 18, 1920. The last state to ratify this amendment was Mississippi, which endorsed it in 1984.

## IMMIGRANTS

Like women, immigrants have also been systematically excluded from the right to vote. Unlike women, this practice was justified by some because of immigrants' social class background. As immigration increased in the late 1800s, resentment toward these newcomers also increased (Keyssar 82). "Although their labor was welcome and there was substantial sympathy for the desperate poverty that had impelled them to emigrate, their religion, ethnicity, and class converged to cast doubt on their desirability as members of the polity" (Keyssar 83).

Some municipalities have granted voting rights to non-citizens because "thousands of noneitizens paid taxes, owned homes, held jobs, and had children in public schools...[they] ought to have a voice in government" (Keyssar 310). The debate continues about whether or not to extend voting rights to immigrants before they become citizens.

## NATIVE AMERICANS

Voting eligibility was determined on a state-by-state basis prior to constitutional amendments. The acceptance, or lack thereof, of Native Americans as cohabitants and finally U.S. citizens was heavily influenced by racial, cultural, and religious differences between tribes and European settlers. In order to be treated like an "immigrant," Native Americans had to forfeit their own national identity (Keyssar 60). This was an unfair demand; Native Americans had already surrendered their land and their livelihoods. Because of their precarious citizenship status, Native Americans were largely unable to vote (Keyssar 60 164). Upon achieving citizenship nationally in 1927, many states continued to exclude Native Americans (Keyssar 253). "By the mid-1950s...the

basic suffrage rights of Native Americans were legally secure. Thereafter, Indians (sic)...came to constitute an important voting bloc" (Keyssar 255). It is ironic that natives to the American continent would be precluded from the political process.

## **African-Americans**

After emancipation, the Republican Party encouraged African American citizens to vote in order to strengthen the party's political position (Valelly 32; Keyssar 39). After all, a Republican President - Abraham Lincoln - had signed the Emancipation Proclamation which freed African American slaves. This key voting bloc was courted by Republican leaders; freed slaves actively organized to encourage their peers to become politically involved. These efforts were supported by the Military Reconstruction Acts which had the army encourage voter registration in partnership with the Republican Party and black activists (Valelly 38-42). "The political dynamics of Reconstruction led to...steps by the federal government to override state control of the franchise and grant political rights to African American men" (Keyssar 89-90).

The potential for mass African American political participation enflamed political and cultural biases. It "not only violated two centuries of structured and deeply rooted racism but also threatened the postwar white goal of regaining political, social, and economic control over the black population" (Keyssar 89). Many were opposed to newly freed slaves accessing the franchise because it threatened them personally and/or politically.

Despite this opposition, the Fifteenth Amendment, which states, "the right of Citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" was adopted on February 3, 1870. This amendment made voting rights a federal, rather than a state, issue. Maryland was the last state to ratify the amendment in 1973 and Tennessee has never ratified the amendment. Although this amendment formally granted the right to vote to African Americans nationally, their ability to access the franchise has been a continuing struggle.

## **EXERCISING THE RIGHT TO VOTE**

Because many felt personally and politically threatened by the new mass of African American voters, there were organized efforts to discourage them from exercising this civil right. Voting was discouraged by local and state laws that targeted freed slaves and their descendants. Much of this was orchestrated by the Democratic Party and its supporters: "1890...marked the beginning of systematic efforts by southern states to disenfranchise black voters legally" (Keyssar 111). Keyssar continues to describe some of the tactics used to prohibit or discourage voting:



poll taxes, literacy tests, secret ballot laws, lengthy residence requirements, elaborate registration systems, confusing multiple voting-box arrangements, and, eventually, Democratic primaries restricted to white voters. Criminal exclusion laws were also altered to disenfranchise men convicted of minor offenses, such as vagrancy and bigamy. (111-2)

Ironically, many of these policies also disenfranchised poor whites in large numbers, as many as “hundreds of thousands of ordinary, illiterate, and semiliterate whites found the new electoral-regulatory environment... enormously intimidating” (Vallely 143). In addition to these official statutes, blacks were physically and economically segregated in the south and were subject to intimidation, threats, and violence at and away from the polls.

In the 1900s, the demographics of our nation shifted dramatically as African Americans migrated north in search of economic opportunity. As the African American population grew in the industrial and urban north, an important new voting bloc emerged (Keyssar 236).

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal policy set the stage for political racial inclusiveness. The Democratic Party turned to African Americans for votes starting in the 1940s. At the same time, the NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference, among other groups, organized voter registration drives as part of their ongoing fight for civil rights. In the 1960s, racial tensions in the south were at an apex, and “renewed voter registration drives in Deep South states triggered fierce backlash from state and local officials and judges. Such repression also encouraged private violence against blacks and violent white supremacist conspiracies” (Vallely 174). The televised broadcast of “Bloody Sunday” – where peaceful demonstrators were violently attacked by police – compelled President Johnson and Congress to take action on civil rights (Vallely 194; Keyssar 263).

## THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, which has been amended three times, prohibits redistricting plans, at-large elections, voter registration procedures, and election practices that explicitly discriminate on the basis of race, color, or language or result in discrimination. It includes a provision for federal examiners and Department of Justice staff to monitor elections to ensure compliance with the legislation. The Act also created a procedure by which changes in election practices must be submitted for review prior to institution. Certain jurisdictions are required to provide bilingual materials and/or assistance. Finally, the Act allows people with disabilities or who are illiterate to choose a designate to assist them with the voting process (U.S. Department of Justice).

Several portions of the Voting Rights Act are set to expire in 2007: providing materials in languages other than English, federal approval for changes in voting procedures, and the requirement that federal examiners investigate suspicious behavior that is reported. Some conservatives are arguing against the act's renewal because they feel Americans have progressed to the point that such provisions are no longer relevant or necessary (Wang). Liberal organizations, such as the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, are organizing a grassroots effort to ensure that the act's key provisions are renewed in 2007.

The significance and continued importance of the Voting Rights Act was recently brought to light by a front page Washington Post story about Rep. Tom Delay (R-TX). In 2003, the U.S. Department of Justice found that he violated the act with a redistricting plan that diluted the political voice of minority voters. The ruling was subsequently overruled (Eggen), but the Supreme Court will hold hearings on the discrepancy in March 2006 (Weisman). This news demonstrates that public officials, intentionally or inadvertently, are capable of making decisions that affect the ability of minority voters to fully participate in the electoral process. Continued government regulation and intervention are needed to insure that some level of protection is afforded.

On the other hand, some conservatives argue that statutes such as the Voting Rights Act incorrectly presuppose a level of inferiority among racial minorities. This argument is parallel to those against Affirmative Action programs. Lisa Chavez speculates about a possible unintended consequence of these policies, "voting rights protection grants certain benefits but at the expense of accepting what could become a self-fulfilling prophecy – that Hispanics are permanently disadvantaged" (85). This argument can be applied to African Americans, another social group who is also protected by voter protection laws. Unfortunately, this argument does not recognize the fact that systematic exclusion of minorities has continued after constitutional protection. Additional protections are necessary to artificially equalize voting access and hold those who erect barriers to participation accountable for their actions.

## **VOTING DIFFICULTIES CONTINUE**

Despite Voting Rights Act protection, thousands of American voters continue to have difficulty expressing this fundamental civil right. Dramatic differences in voter turnout based on race and class continue. Reports of voter intimidation and registration difficulties are numerous. New technologies have resulted in questionable election results. Perhaps most significantly, state felon disenfranchisement laws have barred many minorities from the polls.

## **RACE AND CLASS DISPARITIES**

Voter registration and turnout data from the 2004 Presidential election reveals disparities among racial groups in most states. In Pennsylvania, the voter

turnout rate of African Americans is 10.8% lower than that of whites. Hispanic voter turnout rates are 44.6% lower than those of whites. These are the nationwide anomalies, based on percentage of voters within each racial category:

	Number of States
Registration of African Americans much lower (10%+) than whites	13
Registration of African Americans higher than whites	3
Voter turnout of African Americans much lower (10%+) than whites	15
Voter turnout of African Americans higher than whites	6
Voter turnout much lower (10%+) among African Americans	5
Registration of Asian Americans much lower (40%+) than whites	5
Voter turnout of Asian Americans much lower (40%+) than whites	2
Registration of Hispanics much lower (40%+) than whites	12
Voter turnout of Hispanics much lower (40%+) than whites	13
Voter turnout much lower (10%+) among Hispanics	3

*(Data Courtesy of the US Census Bureau)*

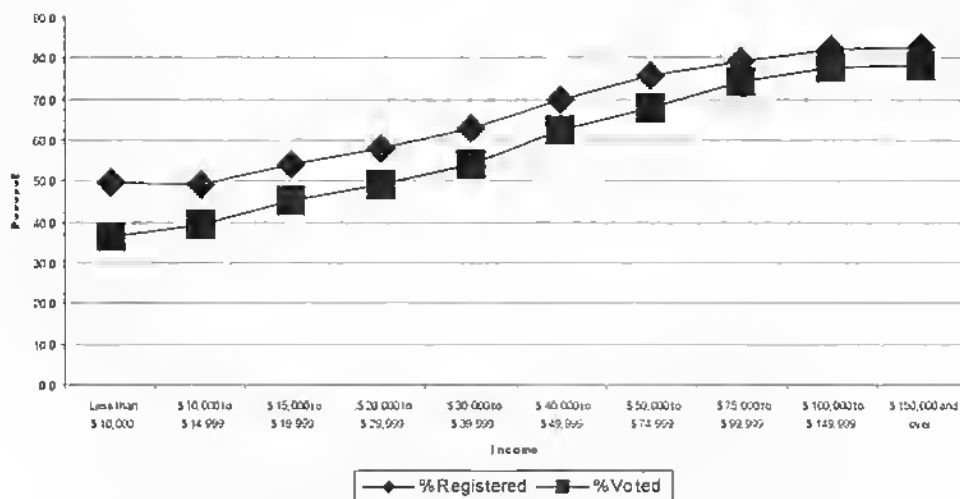
This chart shows that in certain states there are significant differences in voting behavior based on race. Further investigation must be done to reveal the reasons. One suggestion is that, "lower levels of minority registration and turnout relative to eligible population have also been taken as indicators of lingering effects of discrimination [by the Supreme Court]" (Grofman, et. al. 107). Data is not available for Asian Americans and Hispanics in all states. Because the Asian American and Hispanic registration and voting rates are significantly lower than those of whites, states where the difference between their and whites registration or turnout surpassed 40% are reported in this chart; 10% was used as the litmus for African Americans. See Appendix for complete data for all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

A smaller proportion of Latino residents are eligible to vote than African Americans because many Latinos are immigrants who have not yet become naturalized citizens: "eligible voters make up 39% of the Hispanic population compared with 64% of blacks" (Suro B01). Despite this fact, the rising Latino population and increased mobilization has led to more voting within this group: "the number of Latino votes [in 2004]...jumped 23 percent over...2000...more than twice the growth rate for non-Hispanic whites" (Suro B01).

As income rises, voter registration turnout increases. The gap between registration and voting narrows as income rises. Some of this trend can be explained by systematic exclusion of racial minorities, who are also less likely to vote, from economic institutions. This may also be a product of working class alienation; those who do not enjoy the profits of their labor are reluctant to

support the capitalist powers that oppress them. Low wage workers may have multiple responsibilities --including child care or a second job-- that preclude them from gathering sufficient information about candidates, registration, and voting procedures, narrow their focus to day to day matters, and/or limit the amount of time they have available to travel to the polls.

November 2004 Presidential Election - Registration and Voting by Income



(Data Courtesy of U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2004)

## FELON DISENFRANCHISEMENT

After the Fifteenth amendment was enacted, many states started passing laws to ban convicted felons from voting. Today, all but two states (Vermont and Maine) prohibit incarcerated felons from voting. In addition, many states do not allow convicted felons on probation or parole to vote; three states (Florida, Kentucky, and Virginia) permanently disenfranchise anyone who has been convicted of a felony. The Sentencing Project estimates that 4.7 million Americans, including over 670,000 women, over 2 million whites, and 13% of black men, can not vote because of these policies. In Pennsylvania, felons were first disenfranchised in 1860. Currently, those who are incarcerated are not allowed to vote but this right is reinstated upon leaving the institution. Convicted felons who are on probation or parole can vote in Pennsylvania; this right was restored in 2000. Bipartisan legislation currently on the table (HB 1318) threatens to again prohibit convicted felons on probation or parole from voting in Pennsylvania.

Because our criminal justice system is biased toward people of color when convicting and sentencing, felon disenfranchisement policies disproportionately affect these communities. Some contend that these policies are an intentional response to the Fifteenth Amendment and the Voting Rights Act. Behrens and colleagues found that "each 1% increase in the percentage of prisoners who are nonwhite increases the odds by about 10% that a state will pass its first felon disenfranchisement law" (586).

People who have committed felonies face many challenges when reintegrating into society. For example, good job opportunities can be denied to people with a criminal record. This makes acquiring the basic needs of life, such as adequate food and shelter, difficult if not impossible. When reintegration into society is not successful, recidivism may occur. Voting rights should be universally restored to those who are convicted of felonies. This is one very important way to encourage felons to develop healthy and productive ways of participating in society.

## VOTER INTIMIDATION

Voter intimidation consists of activities targeted toward specific social groups to prevent poll access. A report issued jointly by the People for the American Way Foundation and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People cited many recent examples of voter intimidation, including:

- a flyer which stated that black labor unions were encouraging voter fraud was distributed in Kentucky (6);
- a state representative from Michigan said to the press, "If we do not suppress the Detroit vote, we're going to have a tough time in this election" (2); and
- in Arkansas, poll watchers took photographs of voters (7) while plans to videotape voters were foiled in North Carolina (9).

In the November 2004 election, a police officer who sat in front of a polling place in Cleveland with his lights flashing commented, "people who would be intimidated shouldn't vote" (Common Cause 7). All of these measures are attempts to lawfully keep racial minorities from the polls.

## REGISTRATION AND VOTING HASSLES

Potential voters experience many difficulties with registration and voting. Common Cause reported that approximately, "3 million voters were disenfranchised because of registration problems" in the 2004 Presidential election (9). The organization fielded thousands of phone calls from voters who reported problems. These problems included names missing from registration lists and waits of up to nine hours. The report notes that, "standing in line for several hours in order to vote has been characterized as a new form of 'poll tax'"

(5). Prior to the 2004 Presidential election, one county in Florida failed to mail almost 60,000 absentee ballots (Common Cause).

Two federal bills have been enacted to address some of these issues. The National Voter Registration Act of 1993 ("Motor Voter Act") attempts to ease the process of voter registration. The act provides for voter registration at driver's license centers and public assistance offices. It also contains provisions for registering to vote by mail - each state is able to use its own form. The act limits purges of voter registration records (U.S. Department of Justice). In 2002, the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) was passed and instituted federal standards for election administration. These include increased access for people with disabilities, statewide voter registration lists, and replacement of punch card and lever voting machines.

### COMPUTERIZED VOTING MACHINES

In November 2004, 30% of Americans voted using computerized machines (CBS News). Many of these machines transmit data to a centralized computer system without a paper trail. In fact, "most election officials don't require paper ballots to back up or audit electronic election results" (Landes).

Optical scanners can be used to tabulate paper ballots. In Florida, these scanners caused many problems in the 2004 Presidential election. Several counties produced suspicious results. "In Dixie County, with 9,676 registered voters, 77.5% of them Democrats and...15%...Republicans, only 1,959 people voted for Kerry, but 4,455 voted for Bush" (Hartmann). This pattern was repeated in other counties using optical scanners in Florida. In that particular election, optical scanners counted 57.6% of votes nationwide (Landes).

According to Common Cause, there were similar problems in Ohio. In Franklin County, a computer showed that there were 4,258 votes for President Bush - despite the fact that a total of only 638 votes were cast (2). A machine in North Carolina lost 4500 votes (7).

Eighty percent of votes cast in the 2004 Presidential election were counted by, or placed using, optical scanners and computerized machines owned by Diebold or ES&S - companies that are owned by two brothers (Landes). This presents the possibility for skewed election results - either because of system failure or human intervention. Closer federal monitoring in this area is needed.

### FLORIDA, NOVEMBER 2000

After the 2000 Presidential election, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights received numerous reports of voter disenfranchisement in that state. A pursuant investigation revealed serious violations of the Voting Rights Act. Their report noted that,

black voters were nearly 10 times more likely than nonblack voters to have their ballots rejected... African Americans cast about 54 percent of the...spoiled ballots...nine of the 10 counties with the highest percentage of African American voters had spoilage rates above the Florida average...African American voters were placed on purge lists more often and more erroneously than Hispanic or white voters...individuals with disabilities were simply turned away.

Conspiracy theorists jumped on the opportunity to connect the state of Florida, which is governed by then President-elect George W. Bush's brother Jeb, with deliberate foul play. Intentional or not, the breadth and depth of problems in Florida that year point to the possibility that those in power might abuse their position to manipulate election outcomes and the need to develop and enforce regulations that protect the rights of targeted voters.

## REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AND MINORITIES

Voting is a fundamental way for Americans to have a voice in the political system. Voters should have the opportunity to both participate in the system and to elect candidates who best represent their needs. Some might argue that elected officials with a similar racial or social background best represent specific groups. Others, such as Linda Chavez, think this is a precarious proposition: "the natural corollary to the notion that Hispanics can best represent the interests of Hispanics is that non-Hispanics can best represent the interests of non-Hispanics...a dangerous game" (86).

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies publishes periodic reports about the number of black elected officials (BEOs). According to their 2001 report, there were 9,101 BEOs in the United States. This is a 519% increase since their first report was published in 1970. The report further notes that 85% of the increase in BEOs between 1995 and 2001 can be attributed to black women.

According to The Center for American Women and Politics, 19.4% of female state legislators and 24.7% of Congresswomen are of color. Overall, women hold 81 seats in the U.S. Congress (14 in the Senate and 67 in the House) and 22.6% of offices in state legislatures. The number of women serving in state legislatures increased 385% between 1971 and 2005. Pennsylvania has the 5<sup>th</sup> lowest percentage of female state legislators (13.4%). On the local level women also hold many notable positions; 12 of the 100 largest U.S. cities are led by female mayors.

Robert Menendez recently became the sixth Hispanic Senator, replacing New Jersey Governor-elect Jon Corzine. There are currently over 25 Hispanic U.S. Representatives.

## PROPOSED LEGISLATION

The Count Every Vote Act of 2005 was introduced in the House (H.R. 1519) and the Senate (S. 150). This legislation addresses many of the difficulties that have been encountered in past elections. Specifically, this bill would require a paper trail for all voting machines, a mandatory recount of 2% of paper ballots, accessibility for language minority voters, enfranchisement of all ex-felons who have complete probation or parole, Election Day registration, transparency in list purging, and state-wide counting of provisional ballots cast in the incorrect district.

Senator Barack Obama (D-IL) has introduced S. 1975, the Deceptive Practices and Voter Intimidation Protection Act of 2005. This act would criminalize voter deception with a fine of up to \$100,000 and/or up to one year in prison.

There are several other pieces of legislation on the table. In June 2005, Rep. Charlie Dent (R-PA) introduced H.R. 2778, which would allow local officials to purge the names of voters who have been inactive for two federal election cycles if they do not respond to a written notice within 60 days. The Voting Opportunity and Technology Enhancement Rights Act of 2005 (S. 17 and H.R. 533) would amend HAVA and enhance Federal-level election administration. The Fairness and Independence in Redistricting Act of 2005 (H.R. 2642) would limit states to one Congressional redistricting after each decennial Census and require states to supervise these changes through an independent commission.

## CONCLUSION

Women obtained the federal right to vote in 1920. Since that time, this group has not been a target for widespread systematic disenfranchisement. African Americans have held the federal right to vote for an additional 70 years, yet repeated attempts to keep them from the polls continue to this day. Both women and racial minorities are political commodities, to some extent, in the eyes of many people in power. They are used as pawns in political scimmages and courted if a 'return on investment' is expected. I believe that white women have enjoyed continued access to the polls because enough of them have familial and economic relationships with those who are in power.

Yet women lag far behind men in the political arena. A major party has not presented a female candidate for Vice President since 1984; there has never been a major party candidate for office at this level. An entire generation of women and generations of minorities have not had this experience to inspire political involvement. Efforts to involve women and minorities with the political process more intimately are essential. In addition to the right to vote,



citizens should have the right to select a candidate who truly represents their community.

Our federal government must continue to play a strong role in regulating election activities. Left to their own devices, state and local officials are in a position to devise manipulative laws and procedures that exclude specific social groups.

Voting is a basic civil right that should not be denied to, or withheld from, adult U.S. citizens. The Voting Rights Act, along with other protective legislation, should be renewed or enacted to ensure access to the franchise for all.

## Appendix A

Percent of Voting Age Citizens Who Registered to Vote and Voted in 2004 Presidential Election

	White		Black		Asian		Hispanic		V(W-H)	
	Reg	Voted	Reg	Voted	Reg	Voted	Reg	Voted	Reg	Voted
United States	73.5	65.8	2.7	64.4	56.3	8.1	9.1	9.5	35	29.8
Alabama	74.9	63.1	11.8	72.9	63.9	9	2	n/a	n/a	n/a
Alaska	78.4	70.4	8	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Arizona	74.8	68.8	6	57	46.6	10.4	17.8	22.2	B	B
Arkansas	69.4	60.8	8.6	63.7	49.4	14.3	5.7	11.4	B	B
California	72.7	67.3	5.4	68	61.7	6.3	4.7	5.6	37.4	31.6
Colorado	77.2	71.3	5.9	54.3	45.6	8.7	22.9	35.7	B	B
Connecticut	69.1	62.4	6.7	57.9	50.2	7.7	11.2	12.2	B	B
Delaware	74.8	69.9	4.9	58.4	52.4	6	16.4	17.5	B	B
District of Columbia	77.1	73.4	3.7	68.2	61	7.2	8.9	12.4	B	B
Florida	71.8	64.9	6.9	52.6	44.5	8.1	19.2	20.4	37.2	33.1
Georgia	68	57.4	10.6	64.2	54.4	9.8	3.8	3	22.1	16.1
Hawaii	74.7	65.2	9.5	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	48	42
Idaho	75.1	65.2	7.9	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	B
Illinois	75.4	66.2	9.2	72	66.9	5.1	3.4	-0.7	35.6	27.1
Indiana	69.1	59.5	9.6	62.3	53.8	8.5	6.8	5.7	B	B
Iowa	78.4	71.5	7.1	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	B
Kansas	72.7	65.5	7.4	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	B
Kentucky	74	63.9	10.1	77.3	68.5	8.8	-3.3	-4.6	B	B

	White		Black		Asian		Hispanic		Voted		Reg		V(W-A)		V(W-B)		R-V(B)		R(W-B)		R(W-A)		V(W-A)		Voted		R-V(H)		R(W-H)	
	Reg	Voted	R-V(W)	Reg	Voted	R-V(B)	Reg	Voted	R(W-B)	Reg	Voted	R(W-B)	Reg	Voted	R(W-A)	Reg	Voted	R(W-A)	Reg	Voted	R(W-A)	Reg	Voted	R(W-A)	Reg	Voted	R(W-H)	Reg	Voted	R(W-H)
Louisiana	76.6	65.2	11.4	71.1	62.1	9	5.5	3.1	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Maine	80.6	72	8.6	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Maryland	74.6	67.5	7.1	62.4	55.9	6.5	12.2	11.6	30.7	29.8	29.8	0.9	43.9	37.7	20.6	19	1.6	5.1	48.5	36.5	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	
Massachusetts	77.4	69.4	8	50.7	43.5	7.2	26.7	25.9	38.2	29.4	29.4	8.8	39.2	40	43.5	32.9	10.6	33.9	36.5	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	33.9	
Michigan	74.6	67.2	7.4	70.7	62.6	8.1	3.9	4.6	23.7	21.2	21.2	2.5	50.9	48	36.5	35.5	1	38.1	31.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	
Minnesota	85	79.7	5.3	64.7	64.7	0	20.3	15	50.4	41.1	41.1	9.3	34.6	38.6	48.9	45.6	3.3	36.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	
Mississippi	73.6	60	13.6	76.1	66.8	9.3	-2.5	-6.8	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Missouri	79.6	67.5	12.1	88.2	74.7	13.5	-8.6	-7.2	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Montana	76.3	71.5	4.8	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Nebraska	77.6	68.1	9.5	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Nevada	65.9	59.6	6.3	54.1	49.6	4.5	11.8	10	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
New Hampshire	74.5	70.6	3.9	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
New Jersey	71.4	65.2	6.2	61.9	54.7	7.2	9.5	10.5	34.3	32.1	32.1	2.2	37.1	33.1	36.6	30.6	6	34.8	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	
New Mexico	77.1	71.4	5.7	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
New York	68.8	62.3	6.5	50.5	44.3	6.2	18.3	18	30.5	25.7	25.7	4.8	38.3	36.6	38.2	31	7.2	30.6	31.3	31.3	31.3	31.3	31.3	31.3	31.3	31.3	31.3	31.3	31.3	
North Carolina	73.2	61.5	11.7	70.4	63.1	7.3	2.8	-1.6	34.4	34.4	34.4	0	38.8	27.1	13.4	8.2	5.2	59.8	53.3	53.3	53.3	53.3	53.3	53.3	53.3	53.3	53.3	53.3	53.3	
North Dakota	89	72.3	16.7	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Ohio	72	65.7	6.3	70.3	65.5	4.8	1.7	0.2	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Oklahoma	73.9	64.8	9.1	61.8	54.7	7.1	12.1	10.1	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Oregon	81	76.2	4.8	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	39.4	37.6	1.8	41.6	38.6	25	21.7	2.8	52.2	45.9	45.9	45.9	45.9	45.9	45.9	45.9	45.9	45.9	45.9	45.9	
Pennsylvania	72.1	65.1	7	61.3	55.6	5.7	10.8	9.5	28.7	20.5	20.5	8.2	43.4	44.6	37.5	34.5	3	34.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	30.6	
Rhode Island	70.3	63.3	7	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	

	White	Black	Asian		Hispanic		Voted		R(V-A)		V(W-A)		Voted		R-V(II)		R(W-II)		V(W-II)	
	Reg	Voted	R-V(W)	Reg	Voted	R-V(B)	R(W-B)	Y(W-B)	Reg	Voted	R-V(A)	R(W-A)	V(W-A)	Reg	Voted	R-V(II)	R(W-II)	V(W-II)		
South Carolina	75.5	64.3	11.2	71.1	59.5	11.6	4.4	4.8	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a		
South Dakota	77.8	69.6	8.2	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Tennessee	64.1	54.8	9.3	63.9	51.3	12.6	0.2	3.5	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	7.2	5.1	51.8	47.6		
Texas	73.6	63.4	10.2	68.4	55.8	12.6	5.2	7.6	37.5	29.9	7.6	36.1	33.5	41.5	29.3	12.2	32.1	34.1		
Utah	74.9	67	7.9	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	27	1.2	47.9	41.2		
Vermont	74.4	66.5	7.9	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Virginia	71.6	66.2	5.4	57.4	49.6	7.8	14.2	16.6	23	17.3	5.7	48.6	48.9	26	23.1	2.9	45.6	43.1		
Washington	74.6	68.7	5.9	56.7	47.6	9.1	17.9	21.1	39.4	36.3	3.1	35.2	32.4	22.4	17.6	4.8	52.2	51.1		
West Virginia	67.5	57.6	9.9	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Wisconsin	82	76.5	5.5	72.6	68.1	4.5	9.4	8.4	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	33	2.5	46.5	43.5		
Wyoming	72.9	68.2	4.7	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	B	B	B	n/a	n/a	n/a	B	n/a	n/a	n/a		

R: Race is too small to show the derived measure

R-V (B): The difference between registration and voting rates among black voters

R(V-B): The difference between registration rates of black and white voters

V(W-B): The difference between voting rates of black and white voters

R-V (A): The difference between registration and voting rates among Asian voters

R(V-A): The difference between registration rates of Asian and white voters

V(W-A): The difference between voting rates of Asian and white voters

R-V (H): The difference between registration and voting rates among Hispanic voters

R(V-H): The difference between registration rates of Hispanic and white voters

V(W-H): The difference between voting rates of Hispanic and white voters

Data Courtesy of the US Census Bureau

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## DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

OF THE CAPITALISTS, BY THE CAPITALISTS, AND FOR THE CAPITALISTS

ALEX GROSSKURTH

Alexis de Tocqueville traveled the young United States in 1831-2 and transcribed what he observed into his classic book *Democracy in America*, one of the most descriptive texts of early American society. The nation he depicted was rich in participatory democracy, with seemingly all (white men) actively involved and engaged in community affairs. At that time, local issues were predominant in mind, and when there was a threat to the community, people were empowered to come together either through local government or voluntary associations and correct the problem directly. In fact, Tocqueville's strongest words of caution were in reference to a *surplus* of democracy, rather than a deficit. He cautioned that equality might become too rampant and that the "despotism of public opinion" would stifle enlightened progress (691). Indeed, the country has changed, but certainly not in the direction he predicted.

In this century, *the United States is not a democracy*. Ostensibly, it is a representative republic; however, the reality of our government is an organization surrounded by the most powerful capitalist institutions of all time, and so it is hopelessly coerced into supporting this tremendous power structure. From youth, Americans are shown an image of America similar to what Tocqueville described, yet behind the veil of the 4<sup>th</sup> of July, the Declaration of Independence, and Election Day lurks a massive, unfeeling bureaucracy, compelled to further capitalist interests and encourage economic growth. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address put forth the importance of protecting government of the people, by the people, and for the people; 142 years later, the country has deteriorated to a government of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists.

A fundamental principle of democracy is that real power is never given, it is only taken away. Therefore, when evaluating American Democracy, it is necessary to recount the power relations that *created* this "democratic" system. Was it granted from on high by an enlightened government like we are led to

believe? In *The Captive Public*, author Benjamin Ginsberg describes the various reasons elites have historically bestowed power on greater segments of the population: class conflict, social disorder, external threats and state building (11-2). Yet, each stems from the need to avoid chaos and upheaval from the population. The existence of external threats necessitates militarization and conscription, both of which would lead to outrage from a public that had not been co-opted to view the government as its own ("support *our* troops" – who is *we*?). This is even truer for state building and the need for taxation; the public would not tolerate taxation without representation. Therefore, the underlying motive for the government to grant suffrage is to *avoid social disorder when expanding its powers*. A capitalist economy depends on an orderly and submissive public to operate, a fact that becomes increasingly apparent in light of the rapid division of labor since the industrial revolution. If outlets for limited power along formal and orderly avenues (i.e. voting) are not created, power may be taken by mass outrage and resistance to a fragile system (Ginsberg 17).

One can apply this same logic to the creation of the welfare state, workers' protections, civil rights legislation, environmental protections, and other cases in which the government appears to act with "noble" intentions. Each instance can be traced to a need to avoid or squelch upheaval, *strengthen the state*, and allow the capitalist economy to continue its expansion. For example, James Sundquist explains how the political system responded to the Great Depression of the 1930s. While unemployment grew and starvation loomed, calls for revolution started to gain traction in the public, and even veterans marched en masse to the White House before being violently dispersed (Sundquist 191). The system attempted to ease the crisis and alleviate the worst economic hardships through the creation of the modern American welfare state. The "New Deal coalition," which coalesced through political realignment, was a result of the necessity for the capitalist system to defend itself from public disorder and dissent. Roosevelt, rather than the activist image we fondly recall, was simply responding to powerful pressures from his *left*, such as Senator Huey Long and the new Progressives (Sundquist 197). The effect of these reforms was not only to regain public support and trust in government, but to expand the power of the federal government itself. So while the New Deal benefited American workers economically, political power shifted from an increasingly complacent public to a massive, complex, hierarchical and professionalized national bureaucracy.

As the size and scope of U.S. government expanded, it became inherently less responsive and democratic. Direct, participatory decision-making has been replaced, the power of local and state governments overturned, and political parties transformed into professional interest groups. The only formal power held by the public is the symbolic act of voting. But the American electoral system—the channel in which the public most directly participates in government—is not nearly as democratic as many other outlets for expression, for example rioting: Ginsberg points out that before universal suffrage, "mass



opinion was almost exclusively asserted through spontaneous and voluntary means—most typically riot and disorder” (48). Because riots rise out of the demands of the masses and take their own autonomous forms, because they rely on mass support and exist such that each individual has *relative* equal power, they are surprisingly much closer to the ideal of “of, by, and for the people” than our current system.

The most apparent, but hardly the ugliest, blemish upon the American electoral system is the Electoral College. Rather than electing the president by majority opinion, Americans leave the role up to an undemocratic scheme of state-appointed electors. As a result, several times, the most recent being 2000, the candidate with the most votes has actually lost the presidency. Moreover, the electoral system is winner-take-all: only the top vote-getting candidate in each district receives a seat, and only the two major parties can effectively compete for representation.

Yet neither of the two parties represents the public’s interests (Dionne 78). Both parties have come to represent Corporate America, putting forth moral arguments which have little to do with issues that actually impact the lives of most Americans (Dionne 79). The difference between the two parties can be summed up by Ted Halstead’s analogy of “the Chieftains and the Church”: While the Republican Party overtly promotes capitalist interests and proclaims strict moral authority, the Democratic Party *quietly* promotes capitalist interests, and various factions struggle to proclaim moral authority (Halstead 155-6).

The Republican Party is supported by unified conservative forces and an unholy alliance between wealthy businessmen and religious rural populists (Edsall 68). Southerners, though economically repressed, have been increasingly shifting their allegiance to the Republican Party, the party of big business, since the 1980s (Aldrich 26). Moreover, the Republicans have stumbled upon a *winning* formula by making full use of the new technology of politics (Dionne 79). Campaigns today rely on polling, think tanks, talk radio, powerful special interest groups, and effective television advertisements (Edsall 92). Gone are the days of the political machine, the ward captains and the whistle-stop tours; there are now more efficient ways to reach the public, and they require a *ton* of money. To run for president, one must raise hundreds of millions of dollars; both Bush and Kerry raised over \$300 million in 2004 (CFRP). For Senator or Congressman, still millions are needed; already over \$14 million has been raised by Rick Santorum for this year’s PA Senate campaign (CFRP).

Republicans especially rely upon the finances of an increasingly politicized “business lobby” to operate this huge idea-machine (Edsall 127). Such a business lobby first developed into its current form during the 1970s, when business felt besieged by new progressive popular voices and sought to achieve its political goals in a very well-funded Republican Party (Edsall 108). In the

1977-78 election cycle, the Republican Party out-fundraised the Democratic Party by \$59.1 million; by 1981-82, business infiltration was complete, and the margin was \$175 million (Edsall 91). That margin has not diminished in the years since; in the 1999-2000 cycle the Republicans had a \$195 million edge (CFRP). For business, this support has paid off. Because elected officials like to dance with the ones who brought them to the party, "once in power, the Republican government serves the traditional Republican economic interests" (Greider 276-7). For an example of these economic interests, witness the budget gouging in recent years to support massive military spending hikes and simultaneous tax breaks for the wealthy.

The Democratic Party, as opposition to this arrangement, should be expected to represent the interests of the common man, right? Instead, "through accident and design, it has become vulnerable to the same political weaknesses that debilitated the Republican Party for fifty years: favoritism toward elites and the failure to function as a broadly representative party" (Edsall 33). The Democratic voting bloc is a collection of "minority" interests—from Northern workers to ethnic minorities to women—but its coalition is tenuous and difficult to manage. The Democrats also require large sources of campaign funds to compete with Republicans in the new political marketplace, which means succumbing to business lobbies and other special interest groups. The party no longer advocates for programs to uplift the poor, working stiffs; the strongest stances taken reflect well-funded niche interests and "moral values" questions such as abortion rights and stem-cell research. Meanwhile, there is a political consensus when it comes to the economy; Democrats (especially after the rise of the Democratic Leadership Council and Bill Clinton) support free trade, welfare reform, and tax cuts almost as fervently as do the Republicans. Is it any surprise that the wealthy are overrepresented in Democratic Party delegations by 6 to 1? (Edsall 55). The result, of course, is that the party has sold its soul; it has become defined as simply the alternative to the Republicans, rather than building a counter movement based on opposing policies and ideas (Edsall 200).

Even though the Republicans have become dominant in recent years, Daniel Shea points out that we have not had another party realignment, as we did during the Depression, but rather a *dealignment*. Political parties are simply not as powerful as they once were; their main goal is to direct funding and act as service institutions for candidates (Shea 34). Also, today more voters register as Independent than identify with either party, and split-ticket voting has become quite prevalent (Shea 36). As people disassociate from the parties, they often disassociate from politics altogether, receding into private lives and focusing on family and work. This is especially true of the lower classes, which no longer have any incentive to remain active in the political system. As such, the voting turn-out for those at the top end of the income scale is far larger than that for the poor, who, though more numerous, are drastically underrepresented (Edsall 54).

Even those wealthier and well-educated citizens who participate in elections and get involved in politics cannot be said to have *sovereignty*, because government policy is constrained within very real limits and set for the benefit of huge corporate entities: "Only issues that do not fundamentally alter the position of elites enter the political agenda" (Berry 1989, 11). Business interests are powerful enough to effectively target and kill any legislation that would hurt their profit margins, while citizens' groups face severe challenges in rallying support to sway politicians to do the right thing, even if the legislation in question poses obvious health risks to the public (Labaton 4). Campaign finance reform legislation was proclaimed as having shifted the paradigm by preventing the input of large contributions; however, as pointed out by Thomas Gais, spending limits often have the opposite effect, aiding those organizations capable of gathering many smaller contributions, such as corporations who can *strongly encourage* their employees to contribute (4). The simple fact is that no walls could be built to effectively prevent the influence of business upon Washington; there will *always* be a crack (legal or otherwise) to allow the special interest money to pour in.

Funneling this money are interest groups of all kinds that have become a staple of our political system, and serve many institutional functions. Their money buys them access to participate directly in governmental decision-making, whether by drafting legislation or sitting on governmental committees (McFarland 60). Capitalist interests necessarily dominate this arena as well; the wealthy few have major organizational advantages over the diffuse and financially modest many (McFarland 61). Understanding the ins and outs of incredibly complex and vaguely written legislation is only possible for those with resources to hire legal specialists (McFarland 62). And the business lobby is by far the most powerful of special interests. A highly organized and extremely well-financed movement to shape legislation and public discourse for corporate ends has boomed since the 70s, led by such organizations as the Business Roundtable and Chamber of Commerce (Edsall 122-3). Corporate scandals in the past few years have also shown the capacity of *individual* corporations, such as Enron, Exxon-Mobil, or Halliburton, to achieve their political goals, while the penalties for corporate corruption are scarcely more than a slap on the wrist.

Countering these business interests have been the "public interest" groups, which also exploded in the 70s, led by Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, and today include a wide array of groups from Greenpeace to MoveOn.org. However, public interest organizations are typically *professional* lobby groups, run by experts and whose "members" are merely checkbook activists who contribute their annual \$25 and occasionally read a newsletter (Berry 41). These members are rarely invited to take any political action beyond attending a vigil or calling a representative, much less to contribute to leadership decisions or even attend conferences and make face-to-face connections. Furthermore, in order to raise enough funds to operate on a national scale, public interest organizations must

pattern their solicitations toward those who are able to make large contributions (Berry 35). Here again, the practice favors involvement by the upper classes, and the interests of the majority fall by the wayside.

Only an informed citizenry could effectively challenge this entrenched power structure and reverse the collusion of business and government: "The less informed one is, the less likely one is to participate, and the less likely it is that one's participation will be effective" (Delli Carpini and Keeter 9). However, *this is where the illusion of democracy is completely shattered*. Capitalists not only dominate the electoral system through campaigns and interest groups, they maintain near-total control over what Ginsberg called the "marketplace of ideas" as well. Through the media, workplace, and even volunteer organizations, capitalists are able to shape and mold the public's opinions to a frightening degree. This dominion, or hegemony, effectively precludes any and all anti-business ideas from mass proliferation in society, a status achieved without coercion! It is simply that the capitalists are organized and funded to broadcast their opinions and belief-system, without an organized public to challenge them. Because the public is rarely, if ever, exposed to *any* ideas or messages *outside* this hegemony, there is very little dissent from mainstream opinion. As such, what the people wants or believes is merely a reflection of their insulated environment, for they have never been exposed to anything contradictory. So how does this "marketplace of ideas" function?

First, there is the mass media. The media, expected in a democracy to inform and educate the public, are in fact organized as a profit-making industry, owned and financed by just a handful of multinational corporations:

- NBC, MSNBC, CNBC, USA, Sci Fi Channel, Bravo, Telemundo, Universal Pictures and much more are owned by **General Electric Corp.** (which also manufactures tanks, vehicles and weapons for the military, operates nuclear power plants, and produces silicone breast implants, among a myriad of other ventures).
- CNN, WB, TBS, TNT, Cartoon Network, TCM, CourtTV, HBO, Hanna-Barbera, Castle Rock Entertainment, New Line Cinema, Atlantic, Rhino, EastWest, Elektra, and Warner Brothers recording companies; Time, Fortune, Life, Sports Illustrated, Money, People, Entertainment Weekly, and Mad magazines; Time-Life Books, DC Comics, America Online, Instant Messenger, ICQ, Netscape, Winamp, CompuServe, MapQuest, Amazon.com, the Atlanta Braves, Atlanta Hawks, Atlanta Thrashers, and much more are all owned by **Time Warner corp.**
- ABC, Family Channel, Disney Channel, ESPN, History Channel, A&E, Lifetime, E!, Buena Vista, Touchstone Pictures, Miramax Films, and much more are owned by **Disney Corp.**
- CBS, UPN, MTV, VH1, BET, CMT, Nickelodeon, TV LAND, Spike TV, Showtime, The Movie Channel, Flix, Sundance, Paramount Pictures,

Blockbuster Video. Simon & Schuster books, and much more are owned by Viacom Corp.

- FOX, FOX News Channel, FX, Fox Sports Net, DirecTV, SPEED Channel, 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox, the New York Post, TV Guide, Harper Collins Publishers, the Los Angeles Dodgers, New York Knicks, Los Angeles Lakers, New York Rangers, Los Angeles Kings and much more are all owned by Rupert Murdoch's company, News Corp. (*Courtesy of the Free Press*)

Likewise, commercial radio has recently become conglomerated under Clear Channel, which owns and operates over 1,200 radio stations in the U.S. (Clear Channel).

Because the media is corporately owned, it is extremely rare that mainstream information would or *could* deviate from the realm of "capitalist reality," where issues are simple, people are beautiful, and the world is primarily composed of plastic (Ricci 91). Advertisers also exert tremendous pressures upon the media: if a story would be objectionable to advertisers, it simply is not pursued (Steinem 18). As such, whether through overt censorship or convenient filtering, the only information available in the media comes with an inherent capitalist bias. The extent to which this bias is not detected simply strengthens the information's credibility.

Television is perhaps *most* responsible for the increasing ability of capitalists to shape public opinion. The average household watches television for 6-7 hours a day, and the average American is daily exposed to 300 advertisements (Ricci 84, Greider 272). Therefore, TV's influence is monolithic—not just in terms of grabbing the public's attention, but also to the extent that people turn to it as the main source of news. Worse than the newspaper, television news lacks context; its goal is not to inform but to entertain, and it must compete for your remote control against MTV, Nickelodeon, Comedy Central, and Lifetime. Consequently, most Americans receive at best some form of "infotainment" (Ricci 94). Political news is focused almost exclusively on "horse race" stories, such as which candidate is winning in the polls, rather than the political differences between candidates and the likely effects of their policies (Hanes 278). Institutional problems are rarely discussed; political dialogue is made into a mockery; and elections are little more than popularity contests, as the candidate with the most money and the most likable personality is virtually guaranteed victory.

Responding to the vast amount of TV-watching in this country, political campaigns have been able to craft a whole new form of campaigning that reaches millions, but also costs millions: TV advertisements. Because of the average viewer's shrinking attention span, political messages have become shorter year by year and contain much less information; they also increasingly

convey a negative approach—attacking the opponent more than promoting themselves—because this form of advertising is more memorable (Ricci 95). Besides money, the only thing a candidate needs is a brilliant advertising team to craft the perfect 30-second TV spot attacking his opponent (Forum 33). Political campaigning has essentially become a marketing business with experts and consultants hired to perfectly adapt images and rhetoric for an optimal attention-grab (Ricci 95). Voters have become reduced to mere consumers of political advertisements who make decisions based on the emotions generated by campaign ads (Greider 270). As such, political discourse in the U.S. has been effectively eradicated; voter thinking has become a muddled and confused mess, confined solely to topics presented through the corporate media (Ricci 101). One disturbing effect of this is that the less informed one is, the more likely he or she is to favor the status quo; in effect, television viewers' judgment is numbed by the perception that "good" people are wealthy, white, and professional, while "bad guys" are urban, minority, and poor (Gerbner).

Other new institutional outlets have also sprung up in recent decades to help disseminate pro-capitalist ideas. For example, a growing number of well-funded conservative "advocacy tanks," such as the Heritage Foundation, have been producing pamphlets and booklets of talking points to influence policymakers and news media (Rich and Weaver 242). The rise of talk radio and cable television during the 1980s further increased outlets for well-financed right-wing opinions while seriously dwindling the audience for local news (Hames 281). It would be irresponsible not to mention the emergence of Fox News and its 24-hour Republican support network, now the number one news network on television (State of the News Media). Taken together, these technologies comprise "a conservative 'message machine' that today spends more than \$300 million annually to promote its agenda" (Bai 32). Of course, there is a Democratic opposition, in the shape of billionaire patrons, 527 PACs, and "online activism," but it fails to address systemic or working-class issues, and arguably alienates and dis-empowers voters further.

Consequently, democratic discourse in America has become merely two talking heads putting forth well-calculated rhetoric targeted to stimulate elite constituencies. For the average citizen, this process is not only boring and alienating, but also confusing and deceptive. The *framing* of the debate usually determines the outcome, so most of the debate is merely an attempt to frame the issue on one's own terms (Lemann 100). For example, calling your side Pro-Life and the other side Pro-Abortion, or your side Pro-Choice and the other side Anti-Choice, is inherently distorting the question of abortion in order to elicit support from a majority of citizens. How confused are we? We don't even know what the political debate is *about*.

For alienated and powerless citizens living under capitalist hegemony, democracy is dead. So how can it be revitalized? It begins at the local level through active participation in politics once again: "The only way to break out

of this governing system is to imagine a *democratic renewal that brings people back into the contest...* so long as citizens remain unorganized, they will be prey to clever manipulation by mass marketing" (Greider 286). Democracy is a *process* and not an outcome; it requires the equal participation and representation of diverse groups of interests (Aldrich 9). To achieve this, Americans must organize and empower themselves, whether by joining voluntary associations, getting involved in local government, or at least talking to neighbors and thinking about issues on their own terms. Capitalism will not reform itself: the political parties cannot enact good policies so long as they are tools of business interests; the media will not report the truth so long as they are owned by corporate conglomerates; and the government cannot remain a democracy so long as money counts more than votes. The only solution is active, determined, and organized struggle for a *true democracy* based on human rights, social justice, and sustainable economics which work for everyone.

Dystopia was described by Orwell in 1984 as a totalitarian nightmare in which no individual freedoms exist, books are outlawed, information is strictly controlled and distorted by the government, and dissidents disappear into torture rooms. In real life, dystopia has developed *through* individual freedom. In a culture with books written every day, freedom of speech and assembly, and near universal suffrage, information has come to be dispersed through a highly technological and well-financed system. As such, capitalists necessarily frame and shape public knowledge for their own gain through hegemony over the marketplace of ideas. No one is *forced* to agree with capitalist reality and its manifest belief systems, but virtually everyone does by default, because they experience nothing but a steady stream of affirmations that *this is normal* from the government, the political parties, the media, at work, in school, and everyone else.

Instead of English Socialism, there is American Democracy, but the effect is the same: a powerful and entrenched political order serving narrow interests, governing a public enslaved by propaganda and unable to affect change. The American system is actually *more* effective at monopolizing power than Orwell's oppressive vision, because *everywhere one looks one sees the illusion of a democratic, free system*, and only with careful, critical study does the power structure behind the democratic veil become apparent.

For now, the entrenched capitalist order that owns the country need not worry, because the popular perception of America is a country overflowing with freedom and equality; the land of opportunity; the greatest nation on Earth. Those who challenge this belief system are labeled anti-American or terrorist and marginalized, while every "good" citizen is willing to fight and die to defend the very system which enslaves them. And while democracy passes slowly into painless oblivion, its vitality is asserted with escalating passion and fervor by elites and masses alike.

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## MINDLESS EATING

### PORTION SIZE AND POPCORN CONSUMPTION

## RACHAEL GOLDSTEIN

With Kim Brown, Michelle Hunter, Jennifer Lewin, and Betsy Risser

### THE EXPERIMENT

Prior research has shown that when people are given larger portions of food, they often times eat more than they would if they were served a smaller portion. While this research has been thorough, it has overlooked the effects of gender on the apparent correlation between portion sizes and subsequent consumption. The experimenters tested the hypothesis that the phenomenon in which people eat more food when presented with larger portions, demonstrated in previous research, will be true of males to a greater extent than of females. College students were given either small or large bags of popcorn that they were free to eat during cartoon clips that lasted for 15 minutes. The initial and final weights of the bags were measured. The final weight of each person's bag was subtracted from the initial weight to determine how much popcorn each person consumed.

The experimenters predicted a main effect of portion size: participants will eat more when given larger portion sizes. Consistent with the prediction, participants consumed more popcorn from the large portion. However, the difference between the means was not significant. The experimenters also predicted an interaction between portion size and gender, with the effect of portion size on the amount of popcorn consumed dependent upon gender. For males, the experimenters expected to see a large difference in the amount of popcorn eaten when given a larger portion size. In contrast, for females, the experimenters expected that the amount of popcorn consumed from a larger portion would be only slightly greater than the amount eaten from a smaller portion of popcorn. Consistent with the hypothesis, men ate more from the large bag of popcorn than women. However, the difference between the means was not significant.

The prevalence of overweight and obesity has increased dramatically among adults and children in the United States in recent years (Young & Nestle 246). Currently, about 31%, or about 59 million people, are obese in the United States (Collins). With obesity becoming an increasing medical concern in this country, researchers have investigated its causes. It has been reported that the rise in body weight is caused by increased energy intake (Young & Nestle 246). If Americans are consuming more food than in the past, it becomes important to determine the cause of this increase. Do portion sizes affect how much food people consume?

Young and Nestle (246) hold that larger portions contain more energy and encourage people to eat more. Through their study on youth eating habits, Fischer, Rolls, and Birch (1164-1170) confirm this finding in their attempt to determine how continued exposure to large portion sizes effect the ability of children to select portion sizes, food intake, and the awareness of portion sizes. In their experiment, Fischer, Rolls, and Birch evaluated 30 children at two lunch sessions. Each child was given either an age-appropriate portion or a larger than normal portion of a certain entrée. The study found that children who were given large portions of an entrée had increases in their total energy intake. Specifically, the children did not eat less of the other foods served at the meal, even though they were given larger portions. The larger portion encouraged children to eat more from their overall meal. The more responsive children were to portion size, the more likely they were to overeat. These results clearly indicated that large portions sizes produced excessive intake at meals.

Another study indicated that environmental cues, such as packaging and container size, also impacted the consumption of appealing foods. Wansink and Kim (1-11) conducted an experiment on moviegoers in Philadelphia. Participants were given one of two sizes of popcorn—medium or large. Of these two size, several contained fresh popcorn and several stale popcorn. Wansink and Kim (1-11) found that participants ate more from the large bag of popcorn regardless of the quality of the popcorn. These results indicate that portion sizes can increase consumption for less appealing foods.

Research on portion sizes has developed a strong link between portion sizes, food consumption, and the rise in obesity, as Nestle and Young's research indicates (249). Although these studies have reviewed the links between portion sizes and obesity, there lacks sufficient research that examines whether there exists a correlation between gender and the desire to consume more when presented with a larger portion size. One must ask whether males are more inclined to indulge themselves in energy (food) intake when given a large amount of that food than are females.

It is essential to first discuss the biology of the male and female which causes a disparity in the amount of food each consumes. Food intake gender disparities become evident during adolescence. Males, with their greater average body weight and higher resting metabolic rate, demand a higher energy intake than do females. This difference in energy intake is the greatest during adolescence. The Food and Nutrition Board of the National Academy of Sciences recommends that males between the ages of fifteen and eighteen who are involved in light to moderate activity take in 3,000 kcal of energy per day. On the other hand, it is recommended that females of equal age and fitness level take in 2,200 kcal per day. This disparity extends into adulthood. However, this difference is not as wide as it is during adolescence (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie 133).

Along with this biological distinction that demands higher food intake in males, there exist certain cultural factors that affect the difference between males and females. For example, studies have shown that mealtime etiquette for males are different from females, so much as to cause men to take in more energy at the table (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie 134). Specifically, women may have been taught to take small bites, which would decrease the time between bites, decrease eating rate, and increase the total number of bites (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie 135). Rolls, Pirraglia, Stoner, & Laster confirmed gender differences in eating styles. These researchers found that food presentation affects food consumption at varied rates when gender is questioned. Participants were given either whole or cocktail size sandwiches. Men ate more sandwiches and concentrated on whole sizes. Women did not show a difference between conditions. The findings suggest that a feminine eating style involves eating less than men and at a slower rate than men, despite the mode of presentation.

Additional studies demonstrate the cultural pressure on women to eat less than men. Women are taught that "eating lightly" is appropriate for their biology (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie 135). Resulting is this culturally accepted and widely held notion that women who eat smaller amounts of food are to be considered more feminine than those women who eat large amounts. In keeping with this idea of the culturally accepted female is an overabundant concern of women about their appearance. One key to alleviating this concern is control of one's weight. Throughout history, the status of an individual woman has been culturally dependent on physical characteristics, more so than men (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie 135-136). An "ideal woman" has been created by culture and accepted by the masses. Vital to this idealized image is weight. The perfect woman is not overweight. She must control her body fat to achieve cultural perfection, hence an abundant, culturally induced desire on the part of the female to remain in constant control of her weight—or, better put, on a continuous diet (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie, 136). On the other hand, men place lack such concern on their weight. In fact, men have been found to perceive themselves as underweight (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie, 137). Both biology and culture have made evident an inherent difference in food

consumption and gender: women must "eat lightly" to be the ideal women, while men lack in any similar concern. Men must biologically eat more; women biologically eat less. Women eat less, men eat more. In light of these facts, this study contends that women have a greater sensitivity when given large portion sizes. Portion sizes have little impact upon the actual amount of food women consume. This study holds that men, unlike women, are less constrained by biology and culture and will be affected by portion size. Men will consume more food when given a greater portion. To test this, an experiment was conducted at Lehigh University which measured participant consumption of varied amounts of popcorn.

## **PARTICIPANTS**

Forty Lehigh University undergraduate students were selected. The students were from the Introduction to Psychology Course taught at the University. The participant pool received course credit. Nineteen participants were male and twenty-one were female.

## **DESIGN**

The first independent variable was portion size, with two levels: small bag and large bag. The second independent variable was gender, also with two levels: male and female. The dependent variable was the amount of popcorn consumed, which was measured in grams.

The experiment used a between-subjects design, with subjects randomly assigned to the levels of the first independent variable, portion size and gender was recorded. Nine subjects were in the Small, Male condition, 11 subjects were in the Small, Female condition, 10 subjects were in the Large, Male condition, and 10 subjects were in the Large, Female condition.

## **MATERIALS**

Economy size bags of popcorn were used. The bags were separated into individual, weighed portions. Participants were given the bags of popcorn. The large bag was weighed at 160grams. The small bag was 80grams. The bags were filled, weighed, and marked before the participants arrived. Participants watched two randomly assigned *Tom & Jerry* cartoon clips (a children's cartoon series). Each clip ran for 15 minutes. Participants were free to eat the popcorn during the showing of the clips. A scale was used to measure the initial and final weight (in grams) of all the bags. Participants were given an informed consent agreement, which listed all of the popcorn's ingredients.

## PROCEDURE

Participants were randomly assigned to each filled, marked, and weighed bag. The experimenters verbally instructed participants that they would be watching a short 15 minute cartoon clip. They were told that they could enjoy some popcorn during the movie if they wished. The participants were told to wait patiently when the cartoon clip ended for further instructions. The experimenters distributed the bags of popcorn. Then, two randomly assigned cartoon clips of *Tom & Jerry* totaling 15 minutes were shown. Next, the experimenters instructed participants to remain seated while the bags of popcorn were being collected. The experimenters collected the bags from each person, marking the gender of the participant on the bottom of the bag. The participants were then debriefed and asked to take a written debriefing form on their way out.

After participants left the observation room, the final weights were measured for each bag. The weight of each person's remaining popcorn was subtracted from their initial weight to assess how much they had eaten.

## RESULTS

The mean weights of the popcorn were calculated in grams for each of the four conditions. The means are presented in the table and figure below:

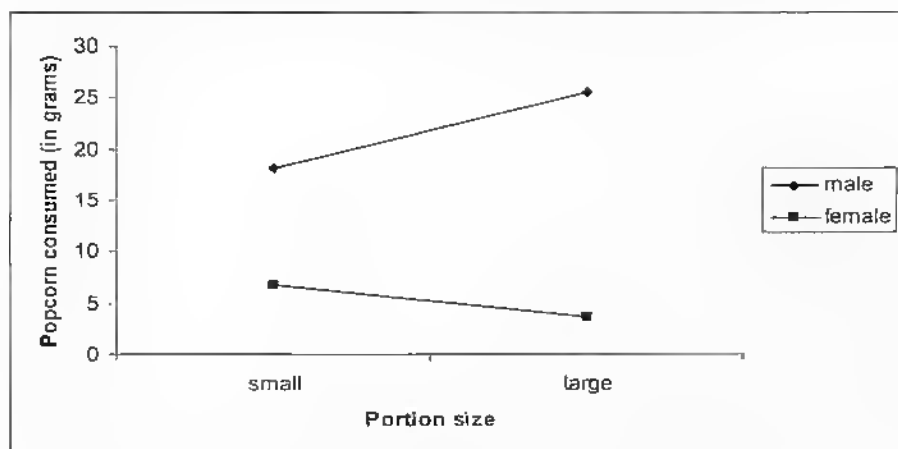


Figure 1. Mean of Popcorn Consumed (in Grams) as a Function of Portion Size and Gender

Portion Size			
Gender	Small Portion	Large Portion	X
Male	18.11	25.50	22
Female	6.73	3.60	5.24

Table 1. Mean of Popcorn Consumed (in Grams) as a Function of Portion Size and Gender

If the hypothesis is correct, then there should be a main effect of portion size: participants should eat more when given larger portion sizes. The pattern of the means is consistent with this prediction. As Table 1 and Figure 1 shows, participants ate more from the large bag of popcorn than from the large bag of popcorn. However, the difference between the means was not significant,  $F(1,36) = .14$ ,  $p > .50$ . The results provide weak support for the holdings of previous studies our hypothesis that people eat more when given a larger portion size.

Another prediction was an interaction between portion size and gender, with the effect of portion size on the amount of popcorn consumed depending upon gender. For males, we expected to see a big difference in the amount of popcorn eaten when given a larger portion size. In contrast, for females, we expected that the amount of popcorn consumed from a larger portion would be only slightly greater than the amount eaten from a smaller portion of popcorn. The pattern of the means is partially consistent with our predictions. As Table 1 and Figure 1 show, for males, there was a large difference in the amount of popcorn consumed when they were given a large bag of popcorn. However, females consumed slightly less popcorn when given a large bag. The interaction between portion size and gender was not significant,  $F(1,36) = .846$ ,  $p > .1$ . The results for the interaction effect provide weak support for the hypothesis.

Finally, the last prediction was a main effect of gender, with males consuming more overall than females. The pattern of means is consistent with this prediction, as shown in Table 1 and Figure 1, because males consumed more popcorn than females. The difference between the means was significant,  $F(1, 36) = 8.474$ ,  $p < .01$ . This outcome supports past research that men have a greater body mass and require a higher energy intake than women. Ultimately, this causes men to eat more overall than women.

## DISCUSSION

The experimenters found a trend in the pattern of the means that supports the idea that people will eat more when given larger portion sizes. The trend supports past research completed by Young and Nestle (246-249), who found that when children were given large portion sizes there was an excessive intake at meals. Also, the trend supports the research conducted by Wansink and Kim (1-11) who found that portion sizes can increase consumption for foods that are less appetizing. However, our results provide weak support for our hypothesis that people eat more when given larger portion sizes. We could have received more significant results if more people participated in our study.

The trend in the pattern of the means implicates the need for serious health policy regarding portion sizes in the U.S.; these implications could be further strengthened if more people participated in our study. Young & Nestle (246-249) found that the sizes of current marketplace foods almost always exceeded



the sizes of those offered in the past. National chain restaurants promoted large-size items on their menus (Young & Nestle, 246). These increasing portion sizes have exceeded the federal standards for dietary guidance and food labels (Young & Nestle 246). The increase in portion sizes in the marketplace suggests the need for greater attention to food portion size as a factor in weight management. It is essential that the government makes public health efforts to explain the relationship of portion size to caloric intake and weight gain (Young & Nestle 249). In addition, it is important for federal agencies to make serving size definitions more consistent and comprehensible (Young & Nestle 249). Thus, educational and other public health programs are crucial to address the effects of the trend towards larger portion sizes.

Additionally, the experimenters found a trend in the pattern of the means that supports the idea that the difference in the amount of popcorn consumed between the small and large bags is pronounced for males. This trend supports past research that women are more sensitive to health, nutrition, and body image. Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie (133-142) tested the hypothesis that "eating lightly" is sex-role-appropriate behavior for women. The results of the study indicated that women were expected to consume less food in concordance with their gender role (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie 133-142). Additionally, Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie (136) found that women's status has been more dependent on physical characteristics than that of men, ultimately causing more pressure for women to conform to the current physical ideal. This increased sensitivity for women towards food consumption is supported by the pattern of means which show men ate much more popcorn than women when they were given a larger portion size. However, the results provide weak support for our hypothesis. Like the predicted main effect of portion size, the results of the interaction between portion size and gender could have been more significant if more people participated in our study.

The pattern of the means provided partial support for the researcher's prediction for the interaction between portion size and gender. The pattern of means showed a large increase in consumption for men when they were given a large portion. For women, however, there was a decrease in the amount of popcorn consumed from the small to the large portion. It is possible that women eat less from the large portion because our sample was composed of college students. College students might be more sensitive to issues regarding eating, body image, and nutrition than people that are not in college. Hart and Ollendick (851-854) found five times the frequency of bulimia in women enrolled in universities compared to working women. This indicates that college students might face more social pressure concerning body image, which ultimately affects eating patterns. Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie (138) indicated that the environment is a risk factor for developing an eating disorder. It has been suggested that the incidence of bulimia is greater in boarding schools and college dorms (Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie 137). Thus, a sample of college students might consume less food than the other groups because they face more

social pressure to be thin. As a result, our findings might be difficult to generalize to the public. If a more diverse sample of participants had been used, such as women not in college and women older than college age students, in addition to a more ethnically diverse group, the results might be more representative of the public.

The trend in the pattern of the means showed that the difference in the amount of popcorn consumed between the small and large bags is more pronounced for males. Combined with the lack of an increase for females, this trend supports the idea that females are more sensitive to eating, nutrition, and health than are men. Female sensitivity was seen throughout the experiment because many women would not consume any of the popcorn given to them. Women left the popcorn at their side and refused to eat the food. The trend in the means in addition to more people participating in our study, have important health policy implications for women. Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie (138) have suggested that the increased pressure on women in to achieve and maintain a low body weight may contribute to the increase in the prevalence of eating disorders. It is important for future health policy to focus on ways to promote a healthy body image among women. Also, future health campaigns should focus on helping women to take pride in their bodies and also provide ways that women can take healthy measures if they would like to lose weight.

Lastly, the results showed a main effect of gender with males eating more overall than females. This supports past research about the biological differences between the males and females regarding food consumption. Rolls, Fedoroff, & Guthrie (133) found that males with their greater average body weight and higher resting metabolic rate mainly require a higher energy intake than girls.

It is essential to look at the constructs of our experiment to see how future researchers could structure the experiment better in order to obtain more significant results. First, as previously mentioned, our experiment requires a larger sample size than the size utilized in our experiment. In addition, the time the cartoon clips were shown presented another problem. Cartoon clips were shown in the morning and also around meal times. Participants might not have been hungry in the morning and also might have consumed a main meal directly before the experiment. This might have caused participants to eat very small amounts or simply nothing. In order to determine the effect of the time of day upon participants' popcorn consumption, it would be helpful to distribute questionnaires to participants after the experiment, asking how hungry they were at the time of the experiment. Also, the length of the cartoon clips could have affected the amount of popcorn participants consumed. Cartoon clips totaling 15 minutes long might not have been long enough for participants to consume a significant amount of popcorn. It would be advantageous to show a movie that is at least 30 minutes, which would give participants time to consume more popcorn. For instance, in the experiment completed by Wansink & Kim (1-11),

the researchers measured popcorn consumption after a 119 minute movie session. The length of the movie could have helped the researchers to receive significant results. Lastly, the amount of participants in each session of the experiment could have affected our results. Each group had no more than five participants and some sessions only had one participant. Eating in a group could cause an individual to become self-conscious and suppress the desire to eat. Experiments with only one participant could have made the participant feel pressured and overly concerned with the amount of the popcorn he or she consumed.

Overall, there were trends in the patterns of the means that supported our hypothesis. The trends suggest that people eat more when given a larger portion size. Also, the trends suggest that the difference in the amount of popcorn consumed between the small and large bags is more pronounced for males. However, the results provide weak support for our experiment. In addition, the results showed that gender effected consumption. The trend regarding the interaction between portion size and gender suggests that women are more sensitive to health, nutrition, and body image. In order to strengthen our experiment, it is important to look at the various constructs of our experiment, such as the length of our cartoon clip, time of day the experiment was given, and social pressures. Also, one limitation of the study is the ability to generalize the results to other groups. In sum, the trends found provide important implications regarding popcorn consumption and gender differences in response to changes in portion sizes. Using a larger sample size would strengthen our trends and provide more definite results.

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## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

(IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)

**Holly Kent** is a doctoral student in the History Department. Her research focuses on women's literature and activism in antebellum America.

**Jason Haas** received his B.S. in Electrical Engineering in 2005 at Lehigh University. He is a Presidential Scholar and is currently a graduate student at Lehigh. He expects a M.S. in Electrical Engineering September 2006.

**Alex Shelly** is an architecture student at Lehigh University. Shelly, a native of Pittsford, NY, is set to graduate in the Spring of 2006. He plans to work for an architecture firm in the Philadelphia area for a few years before heading off to graduate school to obtain a Masters in Architecture.

**Alex Grosskurth** is a graduate student in Political Science. He enjoys movies starring Andre the Giant, spicy foods eaten from large buckets, extreme Death Metal, card games which lead to humiliating oven-mitt-wearing, Feet Are Better Than Cars, and spectacles of grandiose debauchery and mayhem such as the Marx-Engels Oat Eating Contest. He was born in Ambler, PA, one of the most polluted towns of the U.S., and desires to dedicate himself to saving the world from the hegemony of plastic tele-prisons in which we live.

**Bradley Davis White** hails from Chesapeake, VA. He is currently working on his B.S. in Supply Chain Management in hopes of becoming the President of China. In fact, he will be studying abroad in Hong Kong for the academic year 2006-07, where he will stick out like an orange on a toothpick, to which he bears a striking resemblance. Eventually, he plans to open a dumpling stand, tentatively titled *Zao Gao Bagfood*. His sarcasm is only exceeded by his sincerity. That was easy.

**Sabrina Harris** is a French and International Relations double major. In addition to her Dean's List status, she is a member of the National Society of Collegiate Scholars. She is presently a Gryphon in Taylor College and an active member of the Leadership Lehigh program. Sabrina is involved with numerous community service projects both as a participant and as an organizer. She will remain at Lehigh for an additional year as a President's Scholar to complete her Master's degree in Political Science. Upon graduation, Sabrina will either pursue further education and research or work in the nonprofit sector.

**Stanislav Tsanev** was born in Gabrovo, Bulgaria. He came to the United States two years ago for college and soon found himself studying Computer Science in the little town of Bethlehem. Stanislav defines himself by neither race nor religion nor nationality. He defines himself as, simply, Slavy. Free-thinking. Free of labels. Slavy is the treasurer of Spectrum, a student organization for LGBTQ students and their allies, and is also an active member of the Progressive Student Alliance, FORWARD, and the Movement.

**Lindsay Long Nelsen** is currently a senior at Lehigh University in the College of Arts and Sciences. Lindsay is from Lafayette, California, and she is an International Relations major.

**B.W. Dunst** is a senior majoring in Philosophy and Mathematics. He doesn't take most things seriously, as demonstrated often by his lighthearted, ultra critical academic attitude. He considers himself a music connoisseur who also likes cooking, hiking, trivia games, and hugs. LD once opined "right answers are for slowpokes" a maxim, no doubt. As with most common household products, he does not consider meat as food.

**Kathleen Mish** is a senior English and Religion Studies major with a minor in Women's Studies. She will be a Presidential Scholar in the next academic year, when she will begin work on her MA in English. Kathleen was published in Volume 13 of *The Lehigh Review*.

**Jessica R. Dreistadt** is an M.A. candidate in the Sociology Department at Lehigh University. She also holds an M.S. in Nonprofit Management from Eastern University. Miss Dreistadt is the Executive Director of Family Connection and Founding Director of The Fruition Coalition. In 2003, she published and edited *The People Pages: Resources for Social Change*. She is currently conducting preliminary research for a thesis that will explore the role of progressive pro-life organizations in American society.

**Rachael Gohlstein** is a senior psychology major and public relations minor. Social psychology is the primary focus of her academic research. Rachael is currently serving as a research assistant for Professor Gill. Rachael is a member of the National Psychology Honors Society, Psi Chi, and has served as the Vice President and Communications Chair of Chi Omega Sorority. Additionally, she is a DJ for the Lehigh Valley Radio Station, WLVR 91.3 FM. After graduation, she plans to pursue a career in public affairs.



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